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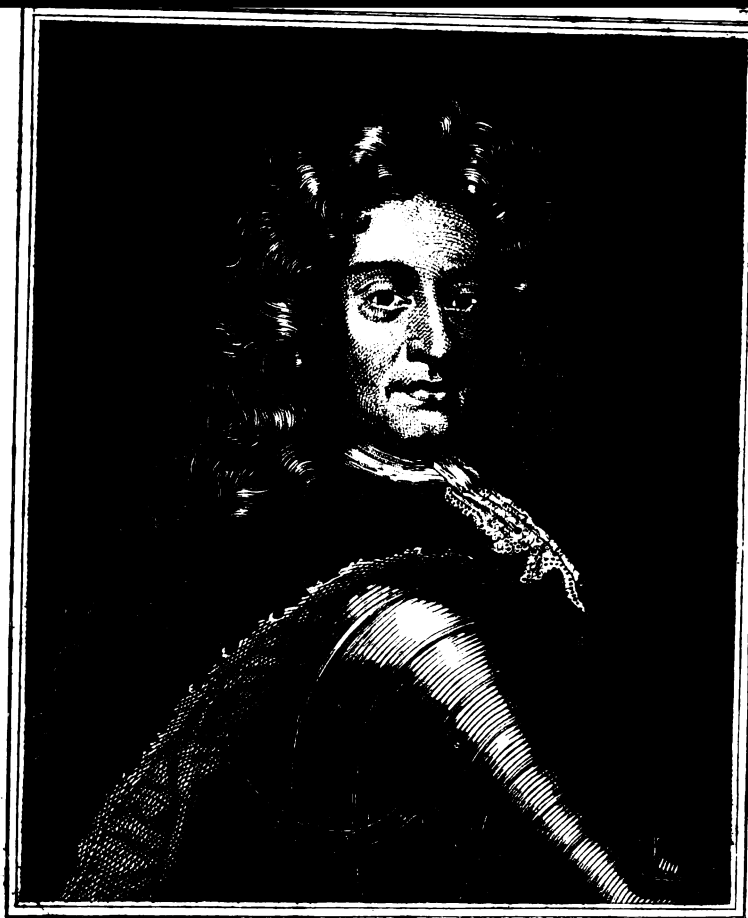
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*Memoirs of, collected
from various authenic sources*

King of England James





M. Marrebeck pinx.

J. W. Cook Sculp.

JAMES II.

Published by Baldwin, Cradock & Joy, Paternoster Row, June 1. 1821.

MEMOIRS
OF
JAMES THE SECOND,
King of England,

&c. &c.

COLLECTED FROM VARIOUS AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

A greater treasure of Anecdotes, for the perusal of an Englishman, one can hardly have an idea of, than came from time to time from the pen of that exact and diligent Prince.

Lord Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. II. page 304.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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THE Writer of the following pages disclaims every bias of party: all that has been attempted in them, is a cursory, unadorned, but faithful relation of events, immediately connected with the Monarch, who is the subject of the Memoir.

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MEMOIRS, &c.

BOOK I.

*Comprising a Review of Incidents, from the
Year 1633 to 1651 inclusive.*

JAMES, Duke of York, second son of 1633.
Charles the First, King of Great Britain,
and of Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry
the Fourth of France, was born at the
palace of St. James, on the 14th of
October, in the year 1633; and, until the
period when his unfortunate father was
obliged to quit London, in 1641, was there 1641.
educated, with the rest of the royal children;
but when, in consequence of the ill-advised
and rash act of the unhappy Charles, by
the accusation of Lord Kimbolton and the
five Commoners, of high treason, the Parlia-

1641. ment were jealous of the regal authority, and the kingdom became divided; the King with his family found it necessary to quit London, to avoid the tumults of the powerful party formed against his authority.

They proceeded first to Hampton Court, and thence to Windsor; but the disorders still increasing, the King resolved that the Queen, and the Princess Mary, his eldest daughter, then married to the Prince of Orange, should repair to Holland; and accordingly he conducted them to Dover to embark, accompanied by the Prince of Wales, sending the Duke of York to St. James's, to stay there with his brother and sister, the Duke of Gloucester, and the Princess Elizabeth, and on his return proceeded to York. But differences still increasing, and there appearing little hope of agreement with the Parliament, the King determined to send for the Duke of York, and accordingly communicated his wish to the Marquis of Hertford, intrusting him with the escort of the Duke.

The Parliament, however, having intimation of the circumstance, forbade the Marquis to convey the Duke. That nobleman, notwithstanding this interdiction, obeyed the orders of his Sovereign, and conducted the young Prince to York, who was on his arrival created a Knight of the Garter, although only eight years of age. 1641.

The King experienced at York, marks of attachment beyond his expectations, and was encouraged by them to speak in a firmer tone, and to retort the accusations of the Parliament with more vigour than he had hitherto done: but a fanatical spirit, under the cover of political aggression, beyond his power to quell, was let loose in the kingdom, confounding, as it did, all regard to ease, safety, and interest, and dissolving every moral and civil obligation.*

The war of the pen (says Hume) preceded that of the sword; a civil war seemed in-

* Hume.

1641. evitable, and to gain the favour of the people became the grand object of both parties. But although the war of the pen was important, as it tended much to reconcile the public to the cause of the King, yet it was evident that it would not decide the quarrel ; the controversy could only be determined by the use of more destructive weapons.*

The magazine of Hull was well supplied with arms and ammunition, and Sir John Hotham, the Governor, although he had accepted a commission from the Parliament, was not thought disaffected to the monarchy.

* Charles had here a double advantage. Not only his cause was most favourable, as supporting the ancient government in church and state, against the most illegal pretensions. It was also defended with more art and eloquence. Lord Falkland had accepted the office of Secretary, a man who adorned the purest virtue, with the richest gifts of nature, and the most valuable acquisitions of learning. By him, assisted by the King himself, were the memorials of the royal party chiefly composed.

Hume.

Lord Clarendon asserts, in the Sequel of his History, that he was the author of most of these memorials of the King.

Charles, therefore, sanguinely hoped, that 1841.
 he might be admitted into the garrison, if
 he presented himself before the actual com-
 mencement of hostilities ; and, in order to
 sound the real sentiments of Hotham, sent
 the Duke of York, accompanied by the
 Prince Palatine, and several Lords and
 gentlemen, as if from curiosity, to see the
 place, resolving to follow the next day with
 the Prince of Wales ; believing, that if the
 Duke were in the town, accompanied as he
 was, it would not be in the power of the
 Governor to refuse him admission, even if
 he should endeavour to do it.

But the event proved him mistaken : the
 Governor was on his guard, and refused to
 admit the King, even with twenty persons
 only, for “ when he presented himself, the
 Duke, being then on the platform, accom-
 panied by the Governor, Sir Lewis Dyves
 came in, and told his Highness, that the
 King was coming ; then turning to the
 Governor, he acquainted him, from the
 King, that he would dine with him that

1411. Papers,) instead of sending Sir Lewis Dyves, surprised the Governor by an unexpected visit, and without warning of his coming, in all probability he had been master of the place; for the inhabitants, at that time, were very affectionate to his service; and besides, he was attended by so many gentlemen of that country and others, that how disaffected soever the garrison had been, it could *have* made no considerable resistance." This was the first incident in the life of the young Duke of York, worthy of record, and his entrance, as it were, upon the grand theatre in which he was fated to act so conspicuous a part.

His Majesty, having returned to York, the country levied for him a guard of six hundred men; for the Kings of England had hitherto lived among their subjects as fathers among their children, and had derived all their security from the dignity of their character, and from the protection of the laws.* But things appeared now in

* Hume.

such a desperate state, that Charles found 1641. it absolutely necessary, for his own security, to raise an army, yet he wanted both money to do so, and arms to furnish them; for the latter he could only depend upon foreign supply, and this was rendered extremely difficult, the Parliament having the navy at their disposal, except a few ships that had conveyed the Queen to Holland: nor were his resources little less hopeless in regard to the former, as his revenue had been, from the first, seized by the Parliament, who issued out to him, from time to time, small sums for his subsistence; but when he retired to York, they totally stopped all payments.*

The Queen, however, having been enabled by the sale of the crown jewels in Holland, to purchase arms and ammunition, dispatched back the Ship Providence, commanded by Captain Straughan, of the navy, fraught with the important aid, about the period when the King had been refused

1641. admittance into Hull. The Captain incurred, with all the characteristic resolution of his profession, the most imminent hazards in his passage, and encountered the greatest difficulties in the execution of his commission. A part of the succours arrived safely to the King; but his preparations were not near so forward as those of the Parliament; for, in order to remove all jealousy, he had resolved, that their usurpations and illegal pretensions should be made apparent to the world; and thought that to regain the confidence of his people was much more material to his interests than warlike preparations, which might increase those jealousies. But the urgent necessity of his present situation admitted of no further delay; and he prepared himself for defence against his misguided and refractory people; and we are told by Hume, with his usual force and elegant brevity, that "these preparations were made with a spirit, activity, and address, which neither one party apprehended, nor the other expected. The genius of this

unfortunate Monarch seemed to increase in 1641. proportion to the difficulties which called it into action, and he never appeared greater than when plunged into the deepest perils and distresses. He therefore, with disdain, rejected the demands of the Parliament, which, in fact, involved the total abolition of the kingly authority.* Collecting therefore his forces, he advanced southwards, and at Nottingham, erected his standard, the signal of civil war throughout the kingdom. "Then it was, that the zeal and affection of those noblemen and gentlemen, who continued *loyall* to him, appeared in the most exemplary manner, shewing what might be performed, when men well born

* "Should I grant these demands," said the King, in reply, "I may be waited on bare headed; I may have my hand kissed; the title of Majesty may be continued to me; and the *King's* authority, signed by both houses, may be the stile of your commands. I may have swords and maces carried before me, and please myself with the sight of a crown and sceptre, (though even these twigs could not long flourish, when the stock, upon which they grew, was dead,) but as to true and real power I should remain but the outside,—but the picture,—but the sign of a King."—Rushworth, v. 6. p. 728.

1642. and right principled, undertake to serve their Prince with diligence. For in a very little time, without any fund of money, but what themselves furnished, they raised so considerable an army, that, before the end of October, the King was in a condition to fight a *battel* with the rebels, though they had begun to raise forces before him, and wanted neither arms, nor ammunition, nor indeed any thing, to make themselves as numerous and well appointed as they pleased.*”

But though his force and resources were unequal to those of the rebels, he advanced to meet them; departing from Shrewsbury about the middle of October, 1642; and upon the twenty-second of the same month, arrived at Edgcot, in Northamptonshire, where having notice that the enemies forces, under the command of the Earl of Essex, were within a day's march of him, he ordered his whole army to meet

* Clarke's History, v. 1. p. 10.

him next day at Edgehill, and he had 1642. scarcely arrived there, when he saw the van of the rebels army down in the bottom, by Keynton, and, in a short time, it began to draw up in order of battle, in the plain before that village. "According to the best relation of those who were present, and could best tell, his Majesty's army consisted of about eight thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, and ten pieces of cannon; and the rebels had between ten and eleven thousand foot, and they somewhat outnumbered the *Royall* army in horse, as *allso* in cannon."*

It was three o'clock in the afternoon ere the King's army was drawn up in order of battle, when they marched on steadily, and with daring resolution.

His Majesty, and the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of York, not then nine years of age, marched immediately after the foot,

* Clarke, v. 1. p. 11.

1642. attended by several of the Lords whom he had commanded to stay by him, and also the band of pensioners on horseback.

To distinguish the situation of the King, says Dr. Clarke, he had a scarlet cornet larger than ordinary carried before him, and as soon as they were within cannon shot the *Rebells* fired at them, and their volley was made before the King's began to play. The foot closed so near, that they were within push of pike, yet they continued to fire at each other till night, urged, by the natural courage of Englishmen, to maintain their ground, but too unexperienced and unskilful, on either side, to make the best of their advantages.

But there was not the same equality of courage in the horse. The right wing of the King's, led by Prince Rupert, quickly putting that of the rebels to the rout, as they gallantly advanced, with the rebels cannon continually playing upon them, as well as the small divisions of their foot.

Yet, for a long time, the advantages continued doubtful, and many were the gallant actions of different noble individuals on that eventful day. The Prince of Wales, and Duke of York were in the most imminent danger; for the King, observing the disorder into which the enemies cavalry had thrown his foot by a furious charge, determined to join, in order to encourage them; rejecting the counsel, which would have persuaded him to quit his perilous situation. But, judging it wrong to expose his sons to the danger, he was resolved to meet himself; he ordered the Duke of Richmond to take them from the field of battle, and conduct them to the neighbouring eminence. But the Duke excusing himself from the employment, the "King *layed* the same command on the *Earle* of Dorset, who answered him, with an oath, that he would not be thought a coward for any King's son in Christendom; and therefore humbly desired his Majesty to commit the charge to some other man: thereupon the King laid his positive command on Sir

1842. William Howard with his pensioners, who were about fifty, to go off with them;* and while he effected his wish of restoring confidence to his foot, and encouraged them by his presence, to maintain their ground; Sir William Howard, pursuant to his royal command, went off the field with the young Princes. They had hardly gone beyond a gun-shot from the place, when they saw a body of horse advancing; and soon discovered them to be the enemy. To avoid discovery, they concealed themselves behind a barn, not far distant, which was encompassed by a hedge. In this barn it chanced that the surgeons were dressing several of the King's wounded men; and the enemy, observing them within the enclosure, drew back without engaging them; by which means the Prince and the Duke escaped being taken, which must inevitably have been the case if they had been discovered, from the superiority of the number of the enemy. After they had withdrawn

* Clarke, v. 1, p. 15.

the royal youths, their party ventured in 1642. the dusk of the evening to proceed higher up the hill; and, as the night advanced, both armies drew off. The King's to the brow of the hill, the rebels to Keynton. They remained during the night under arms, and at break of day the King, observing six pieces of the enemy's cannon remaining as they had left them, sent five hundred men and brought them off with his own, without opposition from the rebel army; neither party appeared willing to renew the combat. Essex first drew off, retiring to Warwick, and the King returned to his former quarters. Five thousand men are stated to have fallen, and the loss of the two armies, as near as could be ascertained, was equal. Such was the event of the first battle in this civil conflict, fought at Edgehill.*

“The *Royall* standard was once taken by the enemy, but retaken by Captain John Smith, brother to the Lord Carington, who

* Clarendon, v. 3. p. 44.

1645. as he returned from the pursuit of the enemy's horse, happily fell upon that body of men, who were carrying it away, for which *service* he was by his Majesty made Knight Banneret in the *feild*.*

Nothing particular is related of the Duke of York from this period, till we find the King leaving him, with the greatest part of his council, at Oxford in 1645, at the period when it was first besieged by Fairfax, with the new modelled army of the rebels ; but it is certain that he accompanied his unfortunate father through all the vicissitudes he experienced in the interval, was with him at Bristol, when it was taken by Prince Rupert in 1643, and at Gloucester subsequently, and thence was sent, with his brother the Prince of Wales, to Oxford, previous to the battles of Newbury and Marston Moore.

Oxford was strong and well able to sustain a siege, and, confident of this, the

* Clarke, v. 1. p. 17.

King prepared to take the advantage of the 1646 expected investment, to make some progress in the North ; but whether from panic, or indiscretion, the council very soon dispatched letters to his Majesty, pressing his return to relieve them, declaring, that if he did not, they must surrender the place ; and they obstinately persisted in their resolution of sending this message, although the governor, Colonel William Legge, assured them there was no danger, of which he convinced them, by sallying out upon the enemy on the only quarter to which they had advanced, repulsing them, and taking and killing a considerable number.

The enemy, believing this sally indicated the strength of the place, raised the siege immediately. In the meanwhile the letters reached the King, near to or at Leicester, which he had recently taken ; and apprehending from them that Oxford was in danger, he altered his resolution of proceeding Northward, and marched back to relieve it ; but meeting the army at Naseby

1642. "he there fought that unfortunate and *fatal* battell, which he lost so absolutely, that it was decisive of the *quarrell*, and the last he ever fought for his crown and life : for, after it, he could never draw together the body of an army, having there totally lost his old foot.*"

In all the other parts of the kingdom his affairs had the same ill success ; and Oxford affording him the only place of tolerable security, he retired thither about the middle of November, 1645.†

It is hardly possible to imagine a situation more disastrous and melancholy, than that of the King during the winter.‡ Separated

* Clarke, v. 1. p. 27.

† In the great and decisive battle of Naseby, among other spoils, the King's cabinet fell into the hands of the Parliament, wherein was found his letters to the Queen, written in the full confidence of affection. His enemies scrupled not to render the violation of the sanctity of private papers subservient to their designs, many of these letters were published with remarks, tending to weaken the interest of the people in his cause.

‡ Sometime before the siege of Gloucester, the Queen came to Oxford. She continued there till April, 1644 ; but terrified

from his Queen, whom he tenderly loved; ~~and~~ and from his younger children, for whom he felt all the genuine affection of a parent, in daily dread of evils which involved his honour, his authority, and his life; exposed to the murmurs of the discontented, and his heart melted with sorrow at the hazards of his more disinterested friends. His peaceful and equitable proposals of accommodation treated with indignity, or silent contempt by his enemies; yet amidst all this complicated suffering, his vigour of mind forsook him not, and he wrote to Lord Digby, "he was determined, if he could not live like a King, to die as a gentleman; nor should any of his friends ever have

by the increasing dangers, and afraid of being enclosed in Oxford, she fled to Exeter, where she was delivered of the Princess Henrietta, and fifteen days after escaped into France, so great was her fear of the Parliament army, whose implacable hatred she had incurred, on account of her religion, and the influence she had over the King.

The Commons had even sent up to the Peers an impeachment of high treason against her, because, in his distresses, she had assisted her husband with arms and ammunition, which she had bought in Holland.—*Original Mem. and Rushworth*, v. 6. p.

321. quoted by Hume.

reason to blush for the Prince whom they had so unfortunately served."

In the spring, Fairfax approached with a powerful army, elated with the victories he had gained, and prepared to lay siege to Oxford, which must inevitably yield to its force.

To be taken captive, and led in triumph by such insolent enemies, was revolting to the unhappy Charles. In this desperate situation he determined to seek his last refuge among the Scots, from whom he had received many general professions and promises; and, with this intention, he quitted Oxford, in disguise, the latter end of April, 1646, passing undiscovered, through all the quarters of the enemy, to the Scottish army, then before Newark, hoping there to find that safety which he could not find in a blockaded town; and not daring to trust himself with the army who were to beleaguer it.

He had it once in his thoughts to carry the Duke of York with him, but did not.

The Parliament, when informed of his escape, issued rigorous orders, and threatened with instant death whoever should conceal him.*

On the 1st of May, Oxford was actually besieged, and on the 18th of the same month the Council sent to demand that their Commissioners might go out, and treat concerning the surrender of the town. The treaty was accordingly set on foot, and concluded the 20th of June. During the negotiation there was no cessation of arms till three days before the articles were actually agreed. In one of these encounters Prince Rupert was wounded.

On the 24th of June the town surrendered to Sir Thomas Fairfax, no other article being made for the Duke of York, than that he should be delivered into the hands of the Parliament, *to be disposed of according to their pleasure*; and this particular was the more observable, as so exact a care was

* Whitlocke, p. 209.

1644. taken in relation to all others beside the Duke.

“ Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice had liberty to go beyond the seas ; and all other persons had the same freedom in the conditions which were made for them, in case they were so disposed ; otherwise they had it in their choice to stay, and the *leasure* of six months allow'd them to make their peace by compounding for their estates.” *

Upon the delivery of the town, the Duke of York was placed by Fairfax, under the care of Sir George Ratcliff, till the *pleasure of the Parliament* should be known respecting the *disposall* of his person. On the same day, or the day after, the General and his officers visited his Royal Highness, Sir Thomas Fairfax making him a speech, “ which certainly,” says the original memorandum, “ was none of the most eloquent, he being a much better soldier than an orator.” He was the only officer who kissed

* Clarke, v. 1. p. 28.

not the Duke's hand ; for, as yet, *all* respect for the royal family was not banished. But Oliver Cromwell, who was the Lieutenant-General, was the *only one* who was so ceremonious as to *kneel* in the performance of this proof of respect.

Perhaps it is not uncandid to add to this remarkable fact, that, by the action, more was meant by the great dissembler, than met the eye ; perhaps it was even a momentary impulse of tender feeling, on beholding the abandoned and isolated state of the offspring of his Sovereign, which, throwing a transient shadow over his daring views, led him involuntarily to an act of homage, so remarkable in a man of his stern and unbending character.

The Duke remained at Oxford till the beginning of July, during which time, though not kept a close prisoner, yet he was never permitted to take the air, without the town, unless attended by a strong guard. Sometime before his removal from London,

1446. the Queen; then at Paris, wrote to Sir George Ratcliff, directing him, if in his power, to convey the young Prince either to Ireland or to her. But Sir George absolutely refused compliance with the desire, alleging that he durst not convey any of the King's sons out of the kingdom, without express orders from his Majesty. Subsequently to this, the Duke's Governor was commanded by the Parliament, to accompany him to London; and the Duke of Northumberland, who was appointed to be his Governor, attended by several gentlemen, met the young Duke within three or four miles of London, and received him from the hands of Sir George Ratcliff, who was immediately discharged from his attendance, as well as his other servants, not excepting a dwarf, whom his Highness much wished to retain; and other attendants were appointed by the Parliament. He was carried to St. James's, where the Duke of Gloucester and the Princess Elizabeth then were, having been left there when the King was obliged to depart from London.

The royal children were, however, 1646. treated by the Earl of Northumberland, and his Countess, with the same tender respect and care as if they had been intrusted with them immediately by the King himself.*

In the meanwhile the unhappy Charles found his situation among the Scots very different from what he had promised himself. Montreville the French Minister, had in fact been led to judge of the state of sentiment respecting the King, more from his own feeling for his situation, than the reality of any warm interest in his cause; and had represented things accordingly to the persecuted Monarch. The Scottish Generals and Commissioners, therefore, when he joined the army, affected great surprize. They paid him exterior marks of respect, but appointed him a guard, under pretence of protection, though in reality for the purpose of securing him. He failed also to find any sympathy or confidence

* Clarke, v. 1. p. 30.

1646. among them ; his friends were kept at a distance, nor could he have any intercourse, either by letter or conversation, with any one upon whom he could depend, or who was suspected of any attachment towards him although they made great professions of service to him, which, says Lord Clarendon, "they said they would manifest as soon as it should be seasonable; and then his servants and friends should repair to him with all liberty." Though, during this period, they concurred with the English in the imposition of severe conditions on the King, assuring the Parliament they had entered into no private treaty with him; and, in fact, they made use of him in their negotiations for the payment of arrears due to them for service, and finally made him the victim to their self-interested prudence.

Whilst every thing was thus tending to his debasement and ruin, the King felt all a father's anxiety respecting the Duke of York, and employed Colonel Edward Villiers, in the ensuing winter, to effect his

escape; but the design was discovered by the vigilance of the Parliament, and consequently failed. At the same period the Duke was seized with a violent ague, from which he continued to suffer from the close of January till the latter part of the following March. Not long after this, the King was delivered up by the governing party in Scotland to the Parliament, an act that must ever reflect disgrace upon that party. When Charles was informed that he was thus given up by those upon whose fidelity and generosity he had thrown himself, he was playing at chess; and such was his self-command, that he exhibited no emotion, but continued the game, apparently without discomposure, so that no one suspected that the letter which conveyed the intelligence contained any thing of consequence. He was conveyed a prisoner to Holmeby, a favourite residence he possessed in Northamptonshire, where he had all outward respect paid him, but was denied the society of his own chaplains, and of those attendants he desired, and could trust. It was the 3d of June,

1647. 1647, nearly a year after he had joined the Scots at Newark, that the King was removed from Holmeby to the army, by Cornet Joyce,* the army being on its march to London, and then on Triplo Heath, near Cambridge. As he passed by Maidenhead, he was permitted to see his children; and, through the interest of General Fairfax, he was subsequently promised to enjoy their society two

* This Joyce, who had been a tailor, was now advanced to the rank of Cornet, and was an active agitator in the army. Without opposition from the King's guard, whose affections he knew were on his side; Joyce came into the King's presence, armed with pistols, telling him he must immediately go along with him. Whither? said the King. *To the army*, was the reply. *By what warrant?* asked the King. Joyce pointed to the soldiers, tall, handsome, and well accoutred; *Your warrant*, said Charles, smiling, is writ in fair characters, *legible without spelling*. The Parliamentary Commissioners entered the room; they asked Joyce whether he had orders from the Parliament, he said No; from the General? No; by what authority he came; his reply was the same as that to the King. *They would write, they said, to know the pleasure of the Parliament*. You may do so, replied Joyce, *but in the mean time the King must immediately go with me*. Resistance was vain; and the King was conducted accordingly. Fairfax, as well as the Parliament, were surprised at this bold measure, secretly conducted by Cromwell.—*Whitelock, Clarendon, Rushworth*.

days at Caversham, a house of Lord Craven's, near Reading, where he was quartered.* 1647.

The King enjoyed a greater degree of freedom, when with the army, than he had experienced at Holmeby, having the privilege of seeing his friends, and corresponding freely with the Queen; he was also allowed, as we have stated, the sight of his children, which, to a man who so affectionately loved his family, was a most grateful indulgence.

Soon after these occurrences a great part of the city declared against the army; others on the contrary, among which num-

* Cromwell, who was witness to the meeting of the royal family, confessed that he had never been present at so tender a scene; and he exceedingly applauded the benignity which displayed itself in the whole disposition and behaviour of Charles.

Hume, v. 7. p. 98.

When the King applied to have his children, the Parliament always told him that they would take as much care both of their bodies and souls as could be done at Oxford.

Parliamentary History, v. 13. p. 127.

1647. ber was the Earl of Northumberland, left the town and joined the army. The Earl designing to have the Duke of York privately conveyed, together with his brother and sister, to Sion House, where he then was, commissioned his brother-in-law to aid his design, by assisting their escape. But the city faction having a jealousy of his intentions, caused him to be watched so narrowly, that it was found impracticable; for, although every thing was judiciously prepared, they could not elude the vigilance of the guards.

Towards the end of the summer his Majesty was conveyed to Hampton Court, where his children were permitted frequently to attend him, and he occasionally saw them at Sion House. During this affectionate intercourse, many interesting conversations took place, the tone of which plainly intimated the anticipations of the King, as to the fatal termination of his persecutions, and tended powerfully and deeply to impress the youthful hearts of his children, and doubtless to

elicit qualities, which, under happier cir- 1647.
cumstances, might have remained dormant.

Nothing could prove the fearful state of things in a stronger point of view, than the King's escape from Hampton Court, where he enjoyed this (although somewhat restricted) sweet domestic gratification. This escape was quickly followed by a further captivity, during the period of which, although the step which reduced him to it was weak, rash, and ill-contrived, the King displayed the vigour of his mind, and the extent of his capacity, fully justifying the remark, that "his capacity shone not equally in action as in reasoning."

That winter a third attempt was made to liberate the Duke of York, and we are led to perceive, that called upon to rest on the resources of his own mind, how early a maturity calamity and difficulty had given to his faculties, inducing a caution and foresight, an invention and inflexibility far beyond what might have been expected.

1647. from his extreme youth. This attempt was discovered by the interception of a letter from the young Duke to some person concerned ; and a domestic of the name of Hill, who was proved to have been assisting, was imprisoned ; and, although afterwards released, was discharged the Duke's service. A lady, (Mrs. Kilvert,) sister to the then Bishop of Salisbury, who attended the Princess Elizabeth, was also concerned, but was not discovered to have been acting in the plan. In the former attempt the Duke had resolutely denied all knowledge of the design ; (a strong and lamentable proof of the debasing influence of fear on a young heart) but in the present instance, the evidence of his letter was conclusive against him, particularly as it was in a cipher they knew was of his hand-writing ; therefore he was forced to acknowledge it, although upon hearing his letter was intercepted he had given the cipher, which he had received from his father, to Mrs. Kilvert, desiring her to hide it in some part of the house, that he might recover it, though

she might be sent away. The Duke had 1647.
 scarcely given this precautionary order when
 a committee of both Houses was deputed
 to examine him : they began by producing
 the letter in his own hand-writing, and re-
 quired the cipher. He replied he had
 burnt it. They then pressed him closely
 to discover to them who had been assisting
 in the plan of his intended escape, " but
 found him so very *reserved* in all which re-
 lated to that affair, that he would acknow-
 ledge nothing of it, though they urged so
 far as to intimate to him the danger he run
 of being sent to the tower, in case he would
 not be ingenuous ; (so they termed it,) but
 when they saw none of their artifices could
 prevail over his settled resolution, they at
 last left him, and upon their report made
 to both Houses, the Earl of Northumber-
 land was charged to keep a stricter watch
 over him till they had come to a resolution
 how to dispose of him.*"

* Clarke, v. 1. p. 32.

1647. It was moved, by some in Parliament, to have the Duke sent to the tower, but by the arguments of some more moderate men the motion was negatived, and the charge of him committed to the Earl, who, however, made a difficulty in accepting it under the conditions they required, as it was a charge little suited to his noble and dignified mind, and he declared he would not be answerable for him, or incur blame by his escape, if it should so happen; it was therefore agreed that nothing should be imputed to him, and he consented to take the Duke upon his own terms, that is, to be his governor; but other persons to be appointed to prevent his escape, and be responsible for him, as to watch him was an employment he would not oblige himself to.

These conditions were acceded to, and a promise extorted from the Duke that he would receive no letters from any person without imparting them to the Earl of Northumberland, but all they could say had no

power to persuade him to declare he would 1647. not endeavour to effect his escape. Nay, even when under examination, it is stated in the Original Papers, he formed a new design to effect his liberty, by the aid of Mr. George Howard, brother to the Earl of Suffolk, and at that time his master of horse, who had been placed in his service by the Parliament. He gained this gentleman over to his cause, and sent him to Colonel Joseph Bamfield, who had been employed in the former affair amongst several others; but Bamfield's part in it not having been discovered, he had not been obliged to quit town as the others were.

The Duke was thus determined upon, and anxious for his liberation, by the conversations he had with the King, when at Hampton Court, who had then advised him, when a fit opportunity occurred, to make his escape beyond sea, and to follow the directions of the Queen, his mother; and now that he foresaw the probable issue of proceedings against himself, he found means

1647. to inform the Duke it might be a proper time to attempt escape, and Colonel Bamfield, who was of an active and enterprizing character, was intrusted with the difficult and delicate service. He had served the King as a Colonel of foot; but as he had been more conversant with the Presbyterian party than the royal, he was not suspected of any extraordinary attachment to the cause of his Sovereign, and had frequent opportunities of conferring with the Duke while he was at St. James's.

His Royal Highness being sensible of the hazards he had incurred, and escaped by the discovery of his former attempt, was resolved not to intrust his intention but to Mr. George Howard and Colonel Bamfield; and, in pursuance of this resolution, refused even to receive a letter from his mother, although it came by a person he believed faithful; a refusal which exceedingly surprised the bearer, who had long watched for an opportunity to deliver it. At last when he found the means of offering it, while he

slipped it into the Duke's hand, as he was 1648.
 passing to the tennis court, he softly said it
 was from the Queen ; to which the Duke
 only answered, as he passed on, " I must
 keep my promise, and for that reason can-
 not receive it." When this was afterwards
 related to the Queen, she was much dis-
 pleased with the Duke, and could not ima-
 gine what he meant by refusing a letter
 from her, but some time after she was
 satisfied with the reason.*

Although all diligence was observed by
 Colonel Bamfield, it was the 20th of April,
 1648, ere all things were ready to effect the
 planned escape ; and during the whole affair,
 every thing was adjusted by verbal messages,
 Mr. George Howard being the medium of
 communication between the Duke and
 Bamfield.

On the evening of the before-named
 day, the Duke, with his brother and sister,

* Clarke, v. 1. p. 34.

1648. supped at their usual hour, seven o'clock ; and when it was concluded, went to play at hide and seek with the rest of the young people in the house. At this childish sport the Duke had accustomed himself to play for a fortnight preceding, (by design) using to hide himself in places so difficult that they were commonly half an hour in searching for him, at the end of which time he usually discovered himself. Thus they were accustomed to miss him before he projected his escape, he was therefore sure of the half hour without being suspected when he actually did attempt it. This invention had complete success, on that night he pretended to hide himself ; “ but instead of so doing, he went first into his sister’s chamber, and there locked up a little dog which used to follow him, that he might not be discovered by him ; then slipping down at a pair of back stairs, which led into the innermost garden, having furnished himself with the key of the door from the garden into the park, he there found Bamfield ready with a servant to receive him ; the latter

threw a cloak over him, and put on 1648.
 his head a perriwig. Thence they proceeded as far as Salisbury House, in a coach: there he alighted with Bamfield, as if going on a visit to the house, and the attendant went forward with the coach, receiving directions to drive it into the city. When it was gone, the Duke and Bamfield went down Ivy-lane, where they took boat and landed again on the same side of the river, by the bridge; whence they proceeded to the house of one Loe, a surgeon, where they found Mrs. Murray, with a suit of woman's clothes, ready to disguise the Duke, who, being equipped, departed with Bamfield to Lyon Key, where a barge, with four oars, was in waiting, which they entered, and so went down the river, the *tyde* serving for the passage.*

The master of the barge had scarcely admitted them on board before he suspected

* These particulars are collected from Clarendon, and largely confirmed by the interesting details of Dr. Clarke, from the Original Stuart Papers.

1449 all was not right; and began to make many objections to proceeding, from the fear of being involved in some trouble; and when Bamfield debated the matter with him, he still continued to raise objections. While they were thus reasoning, the man's fears were confirmed, that the person who accompanied Bamfield, was some one of quality disguised; "for peeping through the cranny of the door to the barge room, where there was a candle burning before the Duke, he perceived his Royal Highness lay his leg on the table, and *plucking up his stocking in so unwomanish a manner*, that he concluded his surmises were undoubted truths.*"

The sight so completely frightened him that he hardly knew what to do or say, which the Duke and his companion perceiving, thought it best to confess the truth, and trust him; promising, that if he was faithful, they would not be unmindful of him, but

* Clarke.

take care of his fortune and provide for 1046.
 him. This engagement confirmed the
 mind of the man, and dissipated, in some
 degree, his alarm. He took them safely to
 the vessel prepared for the purpose, a Dutch
 pink of seventy tons, on board which the
 Duke was received by Sir Michael Armorer,
 Colonel Maynard, and Richard Johnson.
 At break of day they sailed with a fair wind;
 and, early the following morning, came to
 an anchor before Flushing. There they
 staid for the tide to carry them to Middle-
 burg; and, while they were waiting, the
 master of the vessel went on shore, intend-
 ing to be back by the time the water was
 high enough to proceed; during his absence
 the master of the barge, Owen, having ac-
 companied the Duke, came down in a panic
 to him in the cabin, saying, there was a
 Parliament frigate, he was confident, in pur-
 suit of them, and, that to avoid her, they
 must get their anchor on board as soon as
 possible, and without loss of time proceed
 for Middleburg. The fact of a pursuing
 frigate being doubted by the Duke and the

1646. gentlemen, Owen persisted in it so strongly, that ignorant of nautical affairs they were easily persuaded to give credit to his account; and accordingly gave orders to two seamen to get up the anchor, who refused to act till the return of the master: but, with the assistance of two servants, were compelled to obedience, and Owen undertook to conduct the ship safely to Middleburg. They encountered the hazard of losing it by proceeding, for the vessel struck twice upon the bar, yet at length got safely off; the master came on board at this time, and it was discovered to be altogether a false alarm, it being a merchantman, which the fears of Owen had converted into a hostile frigate. They arrived safely at Middleburg before the tide was fully spent.

The Duke proceeded the following day to Dort, but was obliged to remain in disguise, having no change of clothes, till he had apprized his sister of his arrival. He was immediately supplied with the necessary habiliments, and the Prince and Princess

sent their yachts to bring him to Maesland 1648. Sluice, where his sister met him, the Prince having previously bid him welcome as he passed the Brill, and he was now conducted to their residence at Honslardyke, messengers being sent to inform the Queen of his escape and safety.

It was thought advisable, till something could be resolved upon, that he should remain with his sister, the Princess of Orange, at the Hague; and although the service, which Bamfield had performed, was duly appreciated by the Royal Family, they considered the appointment of him as Groom of the Bed-chamber, an ample and honourable recompence, thinking it necessary there should be a person of higher rank about the Duke, who might have a superior controul over the subordinate attendants upon his person; and, as Lord Byron, his former Governor, appointed by the King, was in England, attending to the interest of the royal cause; Sir John Berkeley was sent by the Queen to become the Duke's Governor, in the absence of Lord Byron.

1648. This appointment greatly offended Bamfield, who considered it insulting and degrading to him ; and it was more felt as he had a strong antipathy to Lord Berkeley, and could ill brook being under his command.

Having thus related the particulars of the Duke's escape, we will return to St. James's, whence he had not been gone an hour before he was missed, and a diligent search was made for him throughout the palace ; but, unable to discover him, or to trace whither he had fled, immediate notice of the circumstance was sent to Whitehall, and to General Fairfax. Orders were instantly issued strictly to watch all the avenues from London, especially those leading northward, and to Wales, as it was supposed he had fled thither, or to Scotland. Directions to close all the ports were also given ; but he had passed Gravesend before they could be obeyed ; nor were the precautions or the search given over, until his arrival in Holland was announced.

Soon after this the rising in Kent occurred, when the fleet in the Downs declared for his Majesty's cause, sending their officers on shore, and making choice of commanders amongst themselves. This event had some important results, as it was the means of bringing off a whole squadron of ships to the King, in whose interest they sailed to Holland, on the intimation of the Duke being there, to hold themselves in readiness to receive the commands of the Prince of Wales, or his brother, for the service of his Majesty. Having arrived at Helvoetsluys, they informed the Duke of what had passed, and their present intentions. The Duke hastened to Helvoet, and went on board, taking the command till the Prince should arrive from France; declaring the Lord Willoughby his Vice-Admiral, and appointing several officers in the other ships, warmly expressing his eagerness to put to sea.

When, however, the Prince arrived from France, he took the command of the fleet,

1648. not having effected any thing, although much had been threatened on both sides. The Earl of Warwick, with the newly-formed fleet of the Parliament, followed him to Helvoet, but the Dutch prevented any hostilities in their own port, and the Earl, finding he could do nothing, returned to England.

Much discontent was occasioned by the fleet having remained so long idle at the mouth of the river; as it was thought it might have proceeded to the Isle of Wight, and effected the liberation of the King from his confinement in Carisbrooke Castle.

After this time the command of the fleet was given to Prince Rupert, who, with his brother Maurice, proceeded with it to Ireland, thence to Portugal, to the straits, and the West Indies, where Prince Maurice, and many of the ships were lost; supposed to have been wrecked amongst the Virginian Islands. Before this event Prince Rupert's own ship foundered; and himself,

with two or three others only, escaped ; 1648. being, with great difficulty, saved by gaining his brother's ship.

At the period of the Prince's return to Holland, Lord Lauderdale arrived from Scotland ; requesting the Prince would immediately repair to the army he had left at Berwick, headed by James, Duke of Hamilton, but soon after, the fatal news of the defeat of the Scottish army arrived ; a defeat which rendered the royal cause desperate, and left the captive Monarch nothing to hope. The Earl of Lauderdale was urgent with the Prince to take the command of that army which was to liberate his father ; adding, that if it had been unfortunate, the stronger were the reasons why he should, by his presence, endeavour to repair the disaster ; that Scotland was devoted to his service, and could quickly draw together another army. But the proposition appeared so extravagant in the present desperate state of affairs, that the Prince's council would by no means sanction it with their approbation ;

1648. and Lord Lauderdale accordingly returned to Scotland unsuccessful in his mission.

The Duke of York remained eight months in Holland, passing the Christmas of 1648 with his brother and sister, at the Hague ; and, on the 7th of January following, he proceeded, in obedience to the wishes of the Queen, his mother, to France, taking his route through Brussels ; but when he arrived at Cambray, he received a letter from the Queen, with intelligence of the tumults in Paris, obliging the Court to retire to St. Germain's ; therefore her Majesty commanded him to remain where the letter found him, till she should send him further instructions,

The then governor of the low countries, the Archduke Leopold, hearing of the Duke's delay, sent one of his chief officers, with offers of a more eligible abode than the frontier town, where he was detained, proposing to him the Abbey of St. Amand, which was but a day's journey back. This

considerate offer was gratefully accepted by 1640. the Duke, who immediately repaired thither, and was nobly entertained by the Monks, who were of the Order of St. Bennet.

In the meanwhile the catastrophe of the dreadful tragedy acting in England approached rapidly. The Parliament declared they would enter into a personal treaty with the King for settling the peace of the nation. The treaty to be carried on in the Isle of Wight, where he should receive honour, freedom, and safety.* The King received the proposition with his usual benignity, moderation, and conciliation; expressing his readiness to enter into any treaty which would effect so desirable an object; adding, that as his remote confinement rendered him necessarily ignorant of the real state of affairs, he could have wished the treaty to have been carried on in London; but since they had chosen the Isle of Wight, he agreed, only conditioning that all such persons as

* Clarendon.

1648. he desired, might have access to him; of whom he sent a list of names, desiring that he might be allowed the same state of freedom he had been used to. at Hampton Court. After many delays and objections, the Commissioners arrived at the Isle of Wight; and three days having elapsed in preparations, the treaty was opened.

The King, although much altered in his external appearance, was in no degree dejected, but demeaned himself with equanimity, dignity, and firmness. Of all the demands of the Parliament he finally refused only two; for, although he relinquished every regal power, he would not consent to give up his friends to punishment, or desert what he considered as his religious duty. His remorse, for having once abandoned a faithful servant, had doubtless confirmed him in the former resolution; and his long captivity, and severe trials, had given an increased value to, and more firmly impressed upon his mind, those religious principles

which had always a powerful influence over it.*

The treaty was protracted and obstinate; meantime the successes of the army were multiplied, and so bold and elate did they make it, that, at the instigation of Cromwell, a remonstrance was drawn up by a council of officers, and remitted to the Parliament, complaining of the length of the treaty, and demanding the punishment of the King for the blood shed during the war, with many other requisitions.† At the same time they advanced to Windsor, and sent Colonel Eure to seize the King's person at Newport, and convey him to Hurst Castle, in the neighbourhood.

* "*The King is much changed,*" said the Earl of Salisbury, to Sir Philip Warwick. "*He is extremely improved of late.*" "*No,*" replied Sir Philip, "*He was always so, but you are at last sensible of it.*"—*Clarendon.*

† The Parliamentary Commissioners would allow him no counsel to be present, refusing to enter into reasoning with any but himself. He alone was obliged to maintain, during the space of two months, the arguments against fifteen men of ability, and yet no advantage was obtained over him.

Herbert's Memoirs.

1648. This intelligence transpiring, the King was exhorted to make his escape, which it was thought might have been effected with comparative ease ; but his word had been given to the Parliament, and he withstood every argument that would have induced him to violate it, resolved, however oppressed, still never to forfeit his honour. But the last iniquitous act was yet to be perpetrated: a self-constituted tribunal cited the Monarch to its bar, there to try him for treason, in having levied war against his Parliament. The result was what might be expected of a prejudged cause. The King saw plainly the period of his life was approaching, although he yet thought not that the indignities and violence he had experienced would be terminated with the mockery of a trial, and a public execution. The deportment of the King, in this trying scene, was temperate and dignified ; he steadily refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the illegal court, and bore with manly fortitude, and perfect gentleness, the insults of those misguided men, who called

out for "justice and execution," and reviled him in the most opprobrious language.*

The view of fallen greatness excites in the bosom the most powerful and tender of all sympathies; and, in proportion to the height of glory from which the individual has been precipitated, is the strength of those emotions of pity with which we contemplate the ruin; but these sympathetic feelings are mingled with the highest admiration, when we view the concluding scene of this unfortunate Monarch's existence. Suffering every external indignity and humiliation, which his malignant and bigoted enemies could devise, we yet behold him rising superior, and mark the triumph of religion and conscious innocence, over human calamity. We see him, though

* A Soldier seized with pity at the view of his oppressed Monarch, as he passed from his Judges, demanded a blessing from heaven, upon oppressed and fallen Majesty. His Officer over hearing the prayer, beat him to the ground in the King's presence. "The punishment, methinks, exceeds the offence," was the remark of the King, on this occasion. — *Warwick*.

1640. treated as a criminal, yet preserving all the majesty of a King, all the firm dignity of the man, and all the amiable meekness of the Christian. His soul seemed to gather strength from pressure, leading him to regard, as beneath his notice, all the efforts of malice and insult, which were made to destroy its equanimity ; and his mild and steady virtues to become more vigorous, in proportion to their invasion by his heartless persecutors.

When the intention of trying him became known at the foreign courts, they were struck with surprize and dismay, and each interposed in his behalf. The Queen and Prince also supplicated the Parliament, but all applications were alike disregarded by those men, who had formed their irrevocable resolution to sacrifice their Sovereign on the altar of their own lawless and ambitious views.

The Duke remained at the Abbey of St.
1649. Amand, to the 8th of February ; at which

time, he received letters from the Queen to 1649. repair to Paris. A day or two after his arrival, the joy of meeting with one long separated parent, was sadly alloyed by the intelligence of the dreadful act that had deprived him of his royal father. What effect this fatal news had upon the Queen and Duke may be imagined, but never can be described ; and the poignancy of their grief was, if possible, augmented, upon learning the subsequent fate of their few faithful friends in England.

Soon after these melancholy occurrences the Duke visited the King and Queen of France at St. Germain, where he was received with kindness, and the distinction due to his rank. Returning to his mother, he remained with her at Paris, until the arrival of the King, his brother, from Holland ; he having been requested by his mother to join her at Paris. The Duke accompanied him shortly after to St. Germain, where they remained during the summer of 1649.

1649, It was said that the King's journey to France was only to have an interview with the Queen, previous to proceeding to Ireland, which had declared for him; but if this was the case, measures were subsequently altered; for after passing so long a time at St. Germain's, he proceeded to Jersey, which had acknowledged his authority, on the 19th September, taking the Duke of York with him. While there, Wintram, the Laird of Liberton, attended him, as Deputy from the Committee of Estates in Scotland, with the conditions upon which they would acknowledge his authority; and severe as they were, the desperate state of his affairs, (the loyal party in Ireland having been defeated), the advice and intreaties of his friends, and the Queen, induced Charles to consent to the treaty, Breda being fixed upon as the rendezvous for the negotiation. They accordingly arrived at that city, but without power of acting: Charles was required to submit to the terms proposed in toto.

Previous to the King's proceeding to 1649. Breda, he had been requested, by letter from the Queen, his mother, "in his way thither, to appoint some place, where her majesty would meet him, that they might spend some days together in consultation upon what might concern them *joyntly*."

Beauvais, in Picardy, was appointed as a proper place for the interview ; where they met, and remained two or three days. Having, at last, agreed to the hard terms of the Scots, Charles embarked in Holland for Scotland.

During this time the Duke remained at Jersey, where he continued till the beginning of September ; when, being commanded by the King, he returned to Paris ; but he staid there only a short time, for in the same letter which desired him to quit Jersey, there were some ambiguous expressions, which seemed to intimate the King's desire that he should go to Holland. These doubtful words were made use of by some self-

1649. interested persons about him, in whom he placed confidence, to make him leave France; amongst these persons are particularly named, Sir George Ratcliff, Dean Stuart, whom the King had appointed to attend the Duke, and Dr. Killigrew, his chaplain.

The King, when he departed for Scotland, had left directions with the Duke, "that he should conform himself entirely to the will and pleasure of the Queen, his mother, matters of religion only excepted," and he doubted not the Duke's conformity, both from his affectionate duty to his mother, and because he was wholly dependent upon her for his support; the Court of France never having allowed her any increase of income after the Duke joined her at Paris; of course it was not in her power to be very liberal, or equal to the young Duke's desire, and the requisitions of a retinue which had been unguardedly assigned him on his first arrival. The discontented persons about him easily persuaded

a youth of spirit and courage, to disengage 1649.
himself, if possible, from maternal authority ;
and endeavour, by some enterprize, to
advance and improve his fortunes ; with
this view they were continually exciting his
discontent, by insinuating “ the little regard
the Queen seemed to have for him, the lustre
that some of her servants lived in, and those
who depended upon them, whilst his Royal
Highness wanted all that was necessary, and
his servants were exposed to the most scan-
dalous necessities and contempt.*

These suggestions effected their object.
By degrees the Duke's reverence and obe-
dience to the Queen relaxed so far, that he
dared to oppose her express wishes, and to
depart for Brussels, against her consent, on
the 4th of October.

The Duke of Lorraine had been held up
to him as an example for all unfortunate
Princes ; as he, when driven from his prin-

* Clarendon.

1649. cipality, had, by his activity, put himself at the head of an army, and made himself so considerable, that he was courted both by France and Spain, and could make his own conditions with either; that he lived in plenty, enjoyed reputation, and was universally esteemed for his courage and conduct. This account was sufficient to animate and to kindle the emulation of a youth, placed in the situation of the Duke; and, unable to detect the false gloss which had been given to the character held up to his imitation.

The Duke continued at Brussels some time, and his ill-advisers finding they could not attain their purposes, advised the Duke to proceed to his sister, the Princess of Orange; but she was obliged to refuse receiving him, in consequence of the displeasure of the Queen at his quitting Paris, contrary to her wish; the Princess writing to him, "that it was necessary to make his peace with the Queen, before she could, with respect, invite him to come to her;" this obliged him to wait at Brussels; and

not long after the afflicting news of the death of the Prince of Orange, by small pox, reached him. This great loss to the exiled royal family received some alleviation by the intelligence of the delivery of the Princess of Orange of a son, nine days after the decease of the Prince. During the residence of the Duke at Brussels, he also heard of the death of his sister, the Princess Elizabeth, who died of grief for the tragical death of her royal father, at Carishbrooke Castle, in the Isle of Wight.

This amiable Princess possessed an understanding far beyond her years, and a susceptibility which caused the misfortunes of her family to make a deep impression upon her heart, and bowed her to an early grave. It may naturally be supposed, that the death of a sister so near his own age, and from whom he had separated under such peculiarly affecting circumstances, would make a deep impression upon the youthful Duke, and greatly add to the desire

1650. of being with his sister, the Princess of Orange.

About the same time he also heard of the defeat of the Scots, at Dunbar, which would yet further increase his anxiety to be with a relative. Yet he was obliged to remain at Brussels till the middle of December, he went from thence to Rhenen, a residence of the Queen of Bohemia, in the province of Utrecht, resolving to live privately there till his sister could receive him at the Hague. Not long after his residence at Rhenen he received the welcome invitation, and arrived at the Hague, on the 12th of January, 1650 ; continuing there the winter, till the Parliamentary Ambassadors were received by the States ; “but thinking it not proper to remain in a town, where they were to make their solemn entry, and to avoid the mortification of so disagreeable a sight, he retired from the Hague, to pass some time in the city of Breda.”* But when the public formalities were over,

* Clarke.

he returned to the Hague, avoiding, with ~~1000~~ much circumspection, the meeting of the Ambassadors.*

In the beginning of June he received a letter from the King, then in Scotland, commanding him to return to Paris, and expressing his displeasure at his removal from that place: he was also commanded to dismiss Dr. Killigrew from his service, and no more to follow the advice of Sir George Ratcliff, but to submit himself to the directions of the Queen, his mother. These commands the Duke immediately obeyed, he left the Hague, and arrived at Paris towards the end of June; where he

* The death of the Prince of Orange, was a fatal blow to the English royal cause, for that Prince had not only evinced the most faithful, intire, and unshaken friendship for the unfortunate family, but had assisted it, from time to time, on several emergent occasions, with considerable sums of money; and, although he could not intirely subdue the faction in Holland, which favoured the designs of Cromwell, he yet prevented the States General from consenting to the alliance and conjunction which soon after his death they entered into with the Republic, a circumstance which would never have taken place if he had lived.

1660. was received by the Queen without those reprehensions which he might reasonably have expected, "though she was severe towards those whom she thought had influenced him to disobey her wishes."

The Duke being now of an age capable of bearing fatigue, the Queen was desirous he should improve his knowledge of the world, and form himself for action in it. In pursuance of this desire she solicited the Queen and Cardinal, that the young Duke might follow the King of France when the Court should leave Paris, of which there was then a probability. This proposal was readily agreed to, with the assurance that the Duke should be the object of their peculiar care; but, ere the Court left Paris the news arrived of the fatal termination of affairs in Scotland; and, soon after, the confirmation of the King's defeat at Worcester. This intelligence caused the Queen to alter her design; and, when the Court left Paris, the Duke remained with her Majesty, whose dreadful apprehensions for the fate of the

King continued till the middle of October, 1650. when they were relieved by hearing of his being safely landed at Feschamp, in Normandy, Lord Wilmot only attending him.*

The particulars of the King's defeat; escape, the hazards he incurred, and the hardships he endured, are all so well known that it is unnecessary here to enter into the detail ; it will suffice to say, that the fidelity of forty individuals was proved, and, in the words of the Original Memoir, to add, "That had not God endued him with much presence of mind and resolution, as well as given him a strong constitution of body, he never could have escaped from England in so miraculous a way." On the news of his

* Charles having found his situation in Scotland very unpleasant, and his affairs in a desperate state, was almost reduced to despair; he accordingly embraced a resolution worthy of a young monarch contending for empire. He resolved to make one grand effort, and marched into England, in the hope of being joined by his friends. His Generals entered into his views, and, at the head of 14,000 men, he advanced. The result was fatal, the whole Scottish army was either killed or taken prisoners, and Charles escaped almost by miracle.

1650. arrival the Duke hastened to meet him, and enjoyed that happiness at Magny, a place situated between Paris and Rouen ; thence they proceeded together to Paris, where the King was not only received by his anxious mother, but by all persons of quality then in the capital, with every demonstration of joy.

The Cardinal de Retz waited upon him immediately, making him the offer of a considerable sum in gold, which he even brought with him. His Majesty expressed his gratitude, but declined the offer. This was not the only instance in which Cardinal de Retz evinced his affectionate interest and service.

Soon after the King's arrival at Paris, some overtures were made concerning an union with Madmoiselle, the eldest daughter of the Duke of Orleans. It was carried on some time, but the lady having been led to believe that she might have the King of France, grew cool with the English Mo-

march, and soon broke off with him ; “ by 1650. which means,” says the Memoir, with admirable naïveté, “ reaching at what she could not get, she lost what it was in her power to have had, and missed both of them.” About the same time a marriage was proposed to their Majesties for the Duke: the lady was the only daughter of the Duke de Longueville, and, next to Mademoiselle, the greatest match in France. Upon being proposed to the Duke, he readily assented to the measure ; and the affair went so far, that the consent of the Court was asked ; this being, however, refused, the treaty was broken off.*

Whether this disappointment, combining with the youthful ardour and native bravery of the Duke, increased his desire to distinguish himself in the field, does not clearly appear, but that desire was repeated, with

* Clarendon mentions this negotiation as taking place after the Duke of York's first campaign, but I have adhered to the Original Memoir contained in Dr. Clarke's History.—EDITOR.

~~was~~ considerable urgency, to the King, the Queen, and all those whom he believed to have any influence in forming their decision.

The spring was advancing, and the Duke rested not from his importunities, "that he might have his brother's leave to repair to the army." The King would promise nothing till he had consulted his Council and the Queen, and it was finally decided in favour of the Duke's wishes, the French Court also entirely consenting.

But when the Duke had thus obtained his wish, a great difficulty yet remained to be surmounted; the want of money to furnish an equipage, and to maintain his expences in the army. Money was then a scarce commodity in the English Court.*

* The insupportable necessities of the King were now grown so notorious, that the French court was compelled to take notice of them, and thereupon, with some dry compliments for the smallness of the assignation, they settled 6000 livres by the month upon the King; which being to begin six months after the King came thither, found too great a debt contracted to be easily satisfied out of such monthly receipt, though it had been punctually complied with, which it never was,—*Clarendon*.

A sum was at last procured from a Gascon, 1661.
called Gautier, who had served in England.

“ This person advanced three hundred pistoles, which, with a *sett* of Poland coach horses, brought out of that country by the Lord Crofts, and given him by the King, his brother, enabled his *Royall* Highness to *fill himself* out for the *campagne* ; without this assistance it would have been impossible for him to set forth, for at that time *mony* abounded as *little* in the French Court as in the English.*”

But before we proceed further, it will be necessary to take a cursory survey of the affairs of the French Court at this period ; and to trace the grounds of that contest ; in which the Duke voluntarily engaged himself, as a soldier of fortune.

* Clarke.

BOOK II.

*Comprising a Cursory View of French Affairs,
and Detail of Incidents, from the Year 1652
to 1660 inclusive.*

1652. **ON** the decease of Louis the Thirteenth of France, surnamed the Just, because born while the sun was in the zodiacal sign of Libra, his Queen, Anne of Austria, assumed the reins of government, as Regent, according to the will of the deceased Monarch; and, immediately upon attaining the sovereign power, placed herself under the influence of Cardinal Mazarine, who had gained the confidence and friendship of the late King, and had been appointed by him counsellor of state, and one of his executors.

At the period of the King's decease, his 1652.
 sons, the Dauphin, and the Duke of Orleans,
 were in their infancy ; the Dauphin being
 scarcely five years of age, and the Duke
 two years younger. By his will the King
 had intimated his desire that a council
 should be formed to govern the nation, at
 the head of which he recommended his
 brother, Gaston, Duke of Orleans, to be
 placed ; but, by the deep policy of Mazarine,
 this design was frustrated ; and, through the
 influence of the Queen, Mazarine obtained
 unbounded authority in the state ; as well
 as a complete ascendancy over her mind ;
 from which combined causes the nation was
 plunged into disorder, and divided by
 faction.

The burden of the taxes, heaped upon
 the people, incited to cabal and sedition, and
 a civil war was the consequence, in which
 the Parliament espoused the cause of the
 people ; while the ambitious Cardinal de
 Retz, the rival of Mazarine, was active in
 fomenting disturbances and in destroying

1652. the internal tranquillity of the kingdom.

Desiring to supplant Mazarine in the Ministry he artfully stirred up the Parliament, courted popularity, by opposing, in every way, the measures of the Court, and at length so far succeeded in his intrigues as to oblige the Queen to flee from Paris, with her children, to St. Germain; when she was reduced to pawn the crown jewels for her subsistence; and even under the necessity of dismissing the pages of the young King, from the want of funds to maintain them. Thus, at one eventful epoch, were two Queens doomed to experience the uncertainty of fortune, and the blind caprice of popular favour; for Henrietta, the exiled Queen of Charles the First, took refuge in Paris, and was at this time plunged into the depths of grief, and reduced to the utmost extremities of poverty, while an infuriated populace, blinded by a mad and misguided rage of party, were unmindful of, and totally disregarded the complicated sufferings of royalty.

The military talents of the great Prince de Condé at length reduced the rebels to submission ; and de Retz privately reconciled himself to the Court, with the view of favouring, by his submission, his ambitious designs.

The Prince de Condé, having entered into some secret machinations against Mazarine, together with the Duke de Longueville, and the Prince de Conti, whose united partizans were known under the appellation of *The Fronde*, they were, through the intrigues of de Retz, arrested and conveyed to the dungeons of Vincennes. In the meantime the malcontents took up arms, under the command of Gaston, Duke of Orleans.

To avert the storm which impended, and threatened destruction to the kingdom, the Princes were released, and Mazarine retired to Cologne ; but was quickly recalled by the Queen, and returned to Paris with princely state, December, 1651. The young King, with his brother, going also in

1652. great state to welcome his return. The Prince of Condé, having been proclaimed a traitor, entered into the service of Spain. This defection is certainly a stain upon the character of this great Prince and commander.

It would be alike uninteresting and unnecessary to enter into the details of the wars of *The Fronde* against their Sovereign: it will be sufficient to notice those periods of them, wherein the Duke of York distinguished himself; and that he highly did so, we have the combined testimony of several historians. Clarendon informs us, that “ his Royal Highness, with the liking of the French Court, went to the army, where he was received by the Marshal de Turenne with all possible demonstrations of respect; and where, in a short time, he got the reputation of a Prince of very signal courage, and to be universally beloved of the whole army by his affable behaviour.”

In a curious little volume, published at

Paris, soon after the decease of the Duke, 1652. then James the Second, “ *by Father Francis Sanders, of the Society of Jesus, and Confessor to his late Majesty,*” occurs the following passage :—

“ This exiled Prince made several campaigns under the Marshal de Turenne, and he showed every where so much courage and bravery, that he gained mighty commendations from that General. The testimonies of the Prince of *Condy* were no less glorious, who was often heard to say, that if ever there was a man without fear, it was the Duke of York ; and he kept his character for intrepidity, at all times, and upon all all occasions.” Other testimonies could easily be adduced, if necessary, but the truth of them is so entirely borne out by the instances we shall record, that it is unnecessary to multiply quotations.

It was in the spring of 1652, after the triumphal entry, as it may be called, of Mazarine into a capital (from which he had

1652. been, in a manner, driven, by popular rage, a short time before), that the preparations for the Duke's joining the army under the command of the Marshal de Turenne, having been completed, he set out with his small equipage; "his train consisting only of Sir John Berkeley, *Collonel* Worden; two or three other servants, and as many *groomes*, without so much as a led-horse, in case of necessity; his *feild* bed, and all the equipage of his servants, being *carried* on two mules, which were hired only as far as the French army; where he was promised to be *furnish'd* with better conveniences for carriage. Yet he chose rather to go thus, than not at all. He took care only to manage the business as privately as he could, for fear of being *stop'd*; or that some other inconvenience should happen to him, if his intention of going to the King's army had been divulged.*"

Added to these reasons, delicacy to the feelings of his uncle, the Duke of Orleans,

* Clarke.

suggested privacy; for, as the Duke of 1651. York was going to engage against him, he could not, with propriety, mention his design, or take leave of him. To effect their intentions, the King accompanied his brother as far as St. Germain's, under pretence of taking the diversion of hunting; and having remained there a few days, the Duke proceeded on his route, the 21st of April, 1652.

The Court was, at that time, at Melun; but upon the Duke's arrival at Corbeil, they joined him there, and he obtained another horse and two mules as well as a small recruit of money, all of which were very acceptable, for himself and his retinue had not above twenty pistoles remaining, on

* Louis, with his mother and Mazarine, during this period of contention, was driven from province to province, with scarcely as many troops as the King had afterwards, in time of peace, for his body guard. While the rebel troops, assisted by five or six thousand, sent by his grandfather, the King of Spain, and under the command of two Princes of the blood, pursued the young Monarch to the very heart of his kingdom.

Memoirs of Louis XIV.

1632. their arrival at Corbeil. On the same evening, the 24th of April, he pursued his route, and joined the army at Chatres, accompanied by several volunteers from the Court.

No considerable action occurred for some little time after the arrival of his Royal Highness, only small parties sent towards Etampes, who brought in daily men and horses which they took at forage, and by these prisoners they learned that the enemy's army was quartered in that town and suburbs. M. de Turenne, and M. d'Hocquincourt, who commanded the King's army, resolved, therefore, to march upon it with the whole force, excepting a small body of cavalry and foot, to guard the baggage at Chatres. This resolution was immediately executed, one hour's notice only being given; and about eight in the evening, without sound of trumpet, or beat of drum, it commenced its march, which it continued during the night, and before sunrise had passed all the defiles, having taken a compass to put themselves between Etampes and Orleans,

which was the way the enemy used to go ~~1842~~.
foraging.”*

The enemy's army, instead of being dispersed foraging, were found drawn up in order of battle, to entertain with the view, Madmoiselle, who was passing from Orleans to Paris, without any idea of the King's army being so close. Upon her departure, the army drew back into the town and suburbs ; and, before the Marshals Turenne and Hocquincourt had gained the height above the city, were in security. Seeing this, the Marshals resolved to attack the suburbs, for which they issued immediate orders. The contest continued with equal bravery on both sides, though it ultimately concluded in favour of the Royalists.

Amongst the many brave actions of individuals during the contest, one deserves particular mention, both as an act of heroism, and as being named by the Duke,

* Clarke.

1652. who was a witness of the occurrence. An officer of the Prince de Condé, named Dumont, while the contending parties were hotly engaged in a confined close, in the suburbs, sallied out, with his pike in his hand, exposed to all the fire of the King's party; and, at the distance of only twenty paces, advancing half way into the close, but not being followed by any of his men, was constrained to return. This he attempted three several times, without any one to second his bravery; and, by a miracle of good fortune, escaped all injury. Had he been sustained by the same courage in his men, he might have caused a different issue to the contest; and, even as it was, his undaunted spirit created such an emulation in the Royal army, that they ventured more than perhaps they otherwise would have done.

This same officer was subsequently taken prisoner, and was recognized by the Duke as the brave soldier who had excited his admiration, and, it is most likely, emula-

tion ; for, although in his exact account of 1652. this action, as well as others, contained in his Memoirs, he is quite silent as to the share he had in it, or the hazards he incurred ; yet that he was always at the post of danger appears from his minute descriptions. In the evening the royalists drew off from the suburbs : Hocquincourt, with the van, marching directly to Etrechy, leaving M. de Turenne incumbered with the prisoners, to bring off the rear guard ; and having with difficulty, thus incumbered, reached Etrechy, they, on the following day, returned to their old quarters, at Chatres. This action so elated the Court that the Cardinal determined the Marshal Turenne should block up the enemy in Etampes, accordingly the siege was commenced. During its continuance many daring actions were performed, and on one occasion, when the enemy sallied out, “ the Count de Schomberg, who was then a volunteer with the Duke of York, was shot through the arm by an officer of the enemy’s, as he was standing in the avenue.”

1652. The Duke is particularly named to have closely attended Marshal Turenne in this affair; and on one occasion, the enemy advanced so rapidly, and so pressing, that the Duke had not time to put on his armour, or to change his horse, although his charger stood ready for him.

At length Turenne was obliged to raise the seige, (on hearing of the advance of the Duke of Lorraine), in order to avoid being enclosed by the two armies. This was performed with great order; and having notice that the Duke of Lorraine was at Villeneuve St. George's, Turenne resolved to make a sudden march, and fall upon him before he could join the army at Etampes; he accordingly did this, surprising the Duke, "as his march was so well ordered, and performed with so much diligence, that the first intelligence the enemy had, was the appearance of the whole army before them."

The two armies came in sight of each other early in the afternoon; but Turenne,

finding he could not engage with advantage, ~~ma~~ went on to Grosbois, and while there, received a message from the Duke of Lorraine, with propositions for Turenne not to advance nearer, informing him that the King of England had arrived at his quarters, with proposals of accommodation. M. Turenne reflected upon this extraordinary message, and dispatched the Duke of York to Villeneuve St. George's, an embassy the Duke was most willing to undertake, as the King, his brother, had sent him word he desired a conference with him.

The Duke accordingly went, attended by three noblemen, the Duke of Lorraine's honour being engaged for his safe return. But Turenne's army yet advanced, as he was determined not to be beguiled by any artificial delays of the Duke of Lorraine.

It may naturally be a subject of surprise why Charles took upon himself this negotiation, but it was upon the instance of the French King, who had earnestly desired

him to confer with the Duke. No reason was assigned for his desire, nor was there any to suppose his mediation could avail; yet Charles, unfortunately situated as he was, knew not how to decline it; for, at this time, his situation at the French Court was the most painful that can be imagined; his mother and their several families residing in the Louvre, (not knowing whither to go), were yet scarcely able to exist, the sums assigned them not being paid, and the people greatly discontented by the Duke of York being in arms against their cause. The King had also received a letter from the Duke of Lorraine; entreating him to act as a mediator, and Charles, hoping to effect some good to others, as well as to himself, (contrary to the advice of the Queen, his mother, whose long and painful experience had taught her greater caution), proceeded to Villeneuve St. George's, where he found the Duke of Lorraine much discomposed at the vicinity of Marshal Turenne's army. The Envoy was forthwith sent to Turenne, while the Duke prepared himself

for a negative to his proposals of a treaty: 1652.
Drawing his army up, with all the skill of
an experienced commander, he stood pre-
pared for whatever might occur.

The Duke of York, having arrived at
Villeneuve St. George's, went directly to
visit his brother, and informed him of the
purport of his journey thither, and desired
him to favour the negociation, as far as in
his power, that he might, as soon as possible,
be disengaged from an affair so perplexing
and troublesome to him, feeling himself
most delicately situated between his duty,
and his inclination and gratitude. The
Duke then gave him the proposals of the
Marshal, viz. that the Duke of Lorraine
should immediately cease from the warlike
preparations he was engaged in, and march
out of France in fifteen days, at the same
time giving his word that he would never
more assist the Princes.

Charles told his brother he had no hope
that the Duke would accede to these terms,

1652. knowing his engagements. To which the Duke replied, it must then be decided by the sword, as he was well assured the Marshal was inflexible. The Duke of Lorraine at first hesitated and refused; at length he sent the Lord Jermyn back with the Duke of York, to find if Turenne would not concede; but the Marshal remaining firm, the terms were finally agreed to by the Duke of Lorraine, and the King of England having seen them ratified, visited the royal army, and then returned to Paris.

This forced interference of Charles, was, however, injurious to his personal interests; his enemies intimating that the Duke of Lorraine, had been induced, by his persuasions, to agree to the treaty; and, in consequence of this prejudice, so far did the people manifest their displeasure, that the King and Queen were obliged, for their security, to leave Paris privately at midnight, for St. Germain, in order to avoid the violence of the mob.

Marshal Turenne remained a few days 1652. at Villeneuve St. Georges, but departed thence the 21st of June, encamping in a village on the Seine, about a league from St. Denis, to which place the Court had removed.

The two armies continued on the alert. Condé advanced to Paris, and was pursued by Marshal Turenne, when a sanguinary battle took place between these commanders, in the suburbs of St. Antoine. The young King and his Court had been conducted to Paris by Turenne, and it was from the heights of Charonne he witnessed the conflict of St. Antoine. He was then in his fifteenth year, and was conducted by Mazarine to view the display of courage in the people over whom he was destined to reign.

During this memorable action, the Marshal every where exposed himself to the dangers that environed him, and the Duke of York accompanied him throughout, receiving no injury, although Colonel Wor-

1652. den, whose duty obliged him to be near, was considerably wounded. There was scarcely an officer in the Prince's army but was wounded, he also exposing himself to every hazard; indeed it was his vigour and great courage which alone preserved his army from ruin.

This dreadful conflict was terminated by the heroism of a woman, Mademoiselle de Montpensier, the daughter of Gaston, Duke of Orleans. The Duke himself having given all up for lost, shut himself up in his palace, ordering his equipage to be in readiness for his flight, but his more courageous daughter "herself went to the Hotel de Ville, and obliged the Maréchal de l'Hospital and the Prevot des Marchands to give orders to the Captains of the Porte St. Antoine, to let in the Prince's army. She herself carried the order and saw it executed ;"* proceeding

* Mademoiselle, by this unfeminine display of courage and disloyalty, so much disgusted her cousin, the young King, whom she had wished to espouse, that Mazarine observed, the cannon had killed her husband.—*Clarke*.

immediately to the Bastile and ordering them 1653.
to fire on the King's troops just as they
were beginning the general attack.

By this heroic act the Prince de Condé and his army were preserved. Both parties now found themselves so much reduced, that it was deemed necessary to come to some accommodation, which was at length effected by the removal of Mazarine, and the invitation of the Parisians for Louis to return to his capital ; Louis complied with the request, and all things appeared once more tranquil. But it was a deceitful calm. The truce which had been decided by the banishment of the minister was but of short duration : he had been expelled by the people, but was recalled by the King, and he once more entered the capital, invested with full power, in March, 1653, nor was he ever after removed from his high station, or the confidence of the King ; his power being strengthened by the marriage of one of his nieces with the Prince of Conti, Condé's brother ; this connection increased

1653. the number of his friends and consolidated his power: and, in fact, so unbounded was his influence over the Queen and Louis, that he was the real Monarch of France from this period to his death.

While these events were passing in the capital, the Spaniards availed themselves of the state of affairs, and, in an early campaign, regained many of the places they had lost, having no army to oppose their progress; and it being rumoured that they proposed to enter France, with an army of 25,000 men, under the command of the Archduke, the Court took alarm, and immediately thought of retiring, with its small army, to Lyons. Marshal Turenne, informed of this resolution, attended by the Duke of York, without delay, went to St. Denis, and gave his reasons to M. de Bouillons for opposing so pusillanimous and dangerous a project as removal. Having convinced M. de Bouillons, by his arguments, they prevailed upon Mazarine to coincide with them, and the projected re-

naval was laid aside, the Court only re-
moving to Pontoise.

The war with Spain continued with nearly equal success on either side; but Mazarine having, at length, drawn England into an alliance with France, the scale was turned in her favour. Louis was now twenty years of age, and the Cardinal conducted him to Calais, while the French army attacked that of Spain, and gained the signal victory of the Dwina. The Spaniards capitulated, and Dunkirk surrendered soon after. Louis, with the Cardinal, entered the town and took possession, and having done so, immediately delivered it into the hands of Lockhart, whom Cromwell had appointed Governor of it. Thus was the treaty formed between the French Court and the Usurper; mutual professions were renewed, and new obligations never to make peace without each others consent. Peace between the two countries of France and Spain was concluded, and signed by Cardinal Mazarine, and Don Louis de

1653. Haro, the first minister of Spain. It was called the peace of the Pyrenees, having been concluded in the Island of Pheasants, situated near those natural barriers between the two countries. After this the Prince de Condé returned to his allegiance, and Louis's subsequent marriage with his cousin, the infanta Maria Theresa of Spain, seemed to restore every thing to order, and the French Court to assume some degree of that taste and magnificence which subsequently distinguished it.

We have somewhat anticipated events, in order to preserve the connection of them. We now return to the Duke of York, who, during the whole period of these campaigns, invariably attended the Marshal de Turenne, sharing all the hardships and vicissitudes of the protracted war.

In the affair of Bar le duc, amongst the other troops left in it by the Duke of Lorraine, was an Irish regiment of foot, who, as prisoners of war, were likely to continue

there some time ; and, losing their Colonel ^{1653.} on the day the place was given up, their Lieutenant-Colonel having escaped, offered their service to the Duke of York, provided he could obtain their liberty from the Cardinal, which being granted, the regiment, consisting of ten companies, with their officers, was incorporated in the Duke's, and sent to Ligny, before which place the other troops were. At this place the regiments of York and Douglas lost many officers and men by the miscarriage of a mine in the last attack of the castle, which finally capitulated : this occurred in the campaign of 1652.

The Duke was not constantly present during the siege, but had very hard duty in the out-quarters during the time it continued ; for the Prince de Condé advancing to relieve it, M. de Turenne ordered the horse to continue on the alert, during every night, till sun-rise. The army was reduced to great hardships, as the country had been devastated, and there was no

1653. possibility of supplying it with bread, so that the soldiers were forced to eat horse-flesh, and every kind of unwholesome food, to sustain life ; and, amongst other things, they were driven to feed on the stalks of cabbages, which they were wont to call *The Cardinal's Bread*.

After the surrender of Ligny, which occurred not long after that of Bar le duc, the army, thus harrassed, were about to retire to winter quarters ; but while anticipating this the Cardinal sent orders to march back again and retake Vervins, a town of considerable strength. This service was undertaken very unwillingly by an army worn out, and almost sinking from the fatigues of a protracted and arduous campaign. During this countermarch the army lost many horses, and a great part of their baggage, merely from the dreadful state of the roads.

At Vervins the Duke of York very narrowly escaped being made prisoner, having accompanied M. de Turenne to view the

town; "his *Royall* Highness, and another 1653. gentleman going somewhat near, the better to make their observations, were *mett* by a small party of horse, belonging to Vervins, which they mistook for their own soldiers, and were within pistol *shot* of them, before they were sensible of their error, and had not the enemy then fired at them, they had undoubtedly *ridd* in amongst them, and it would *have* been very hard for them to get off."*

They arrived at this place the 25th of January, and the town surrendered on the 28th. M. de Turenne having taken possession of Vervins, marched back his army to Laon, when all the troops were sent to their several winter quarters, and the Duke, the Cardinal, and all the Generals, and people of quality, went to Paris, where they arrived on the 3rd of February.

On his Royal Highness's arrival at Paris, after his first and long campaign, he had

* Clarke.

1653. not only the pleasure of paying his duty to the Queen, his mother, but also of meeting there his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, and his cousin, Prince Rupert. The former, after a long detention in the power of the bloody enemies of his family, was at last liberated by them, not from any principle of humanity, it may be presumed, but to save the charges of maintaining him, or, perhaps, to prevent any interest being excited in his favour. Prince Rupert had been given over for lost by his friends, had escaped a thousand perils at sea, during the space of four years, and was consequently hardly a less welcome guest than the young Gloucester. Yet, notwithstanding these domestic gratifications, the Duke of York was ill contented at Paris, his thoughts were so bent upon war, that he considered the time lost, not employed in the field; nor did he think any life so agreeable.

Meanwhile the situation of Charles was as unhappy and perplexing as can well be imagined; a fugitive in France, with his

mother and family; his hopes became daily less sanguine, while his misfortunes seemed interminable; surrounded by persons whose ambition could not be gratified by present favours, he was harrassed by domestic factions, and importunate demands to obtain promises; solicitations for honours, offices, and revenues annoyed him continually; "and the vexations he underwent of this kind, (says that minute historian, Clarendon), cannot be expressed," while affairs in England left little hope of things changing for the better, the usurper having succeeded in all his plans, to the "utmost flight of his ambition;" and so firmly did he establish his power, that he treated with Louis the Great as his equal, obliging him to acknowledge him as Protector. Indeed, had we not found, in a more modern instance, the paralyzing effect, produced by the daring ambition of a despotic individual over the continental powers, we could hardly credit the accounts given by historians of the influence exercised and obtained by Cromwell, in every European Court, for it would

1663. be difficult to decide which feared him most. Clarendon most truly says, "his friendship was current in France, Spain, and Holland, at the *price he chose to put upon it.*"

These several powers each sacrificed their honour, and their interests, to his will and pleasure, nor dared they to refuse any demand he made, however unreasonable, and however despotic. In one instance this was abundantly proved, when he compelled the French King, through Mazarine, to banish Charles the Second, and his brother, the Duke of York, out of those dominions, where they, as grand-children of Henry the Great, had every just claim to protection and assistance; yet so much reduced was Henrietta, the daughter of that beloved Monarch, as to be under the mortifying necessity of soliciting the Cardinal Mazarine to interpose his good offices to obtain her jointure from the murderer of her husband. Yet, humiliating as this suit must have been to the wife, mother, and daughter of kings, it was unavailing, so much did he spurn,

controul, and inflexibly adhere to his reso- 1653.
lutions.

In the year 1653, the Duke of York made his second campaign, in the company and under the conduct of the great Turenne, who, it appears, was much gratified in having so illustrious and apt a pupil in the art of war. His Royal Highness has written, in his own hand, a minute account of this campaign, in which the royal army had to contend with the Spanish force, as well as with their rebellious countrymen.

In his detail of the siege of Mousson, he relates a narrow escape of being blown up. While he was, in company with several officers, viewing the progress of the works; remaining a short time on the batteries for that purpose, "a great *shott* came from the town, which passed through three *barrells* of powder *without firing them*, which had it done, all who were in the battery had inevitably been blown up: but the danger came so *suddainly*, and was so soon over, that

1653. none of us had time to be concerned for it.”

He also relates a circumstance which evinces the enthusiastic love the soldiers bore to the Marshal de Turenne.

Ten companies of the Guards, commanded by M. de Vautourneu, were appointed, according to the French privileges, to guard the trenches on a certain night ; and, when M. de Castelneau, the only Lieutenant-General then in the army, repaired, according to his usual custom, to the trenches, to command there, the battalion refused obedience to him, pretending they were not to obey any man but the General himself. The Marshal being informed of the circumstance, hastened to the spot to accommodate matters ; but, finding Vautourneu and the men equally obstinate, he desired M. de Castelneau to retire to his tent and repose himself that night, because he had had very fatiguing duty, and little rest the preceding one ; adding, “ he himself would do his office for him, and watch in the trenches.” Castelneau obeyed, and

retired, and the Marshal did as he said, it 1653, being the only way to settle a punctilio so ill-timed ; but he immediately despatched a messenger to Court, who, in reply, sent a positive order that the guards should in future obey the Lieutenant-General: But the presence of M. de Turenne effected much good, for the guards thought themselves bound in honour to exert every effort, therefore the works proceeded with astonishing celerity that night.

During the whole period of this siege, (Mousson), rains and storms were so perpetual, that every blind and screen was blown down nearly as soon as erected. The Duke going down one day with a party to the approaches, they were so busily employed in piking out their way, (the ditch being full of dirt and water), that not one of the party took notice of the blind being very nearly ruined, they were, in consequence, exposed to the open view of the enemy.

One of the company, who had first

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1633. observed the imminent danger they were exposed to, proposed to return; but the Duke observes, in his Memoir, "I well remember I would not consent, urging, that since we were now so far advanced, the danger was *equall* in going forward or in returning, so we continued going on to the head of the *attaque*, as we at first intended, but in all the way, while we were thus exposed, there was not one *shot* made at us, at which we wondered; but afterwards, when the town was surrendered, the Governor explained the reason. That he happening to be on the wall at the time, and knowing me by my *star*, forbid his men to fire upon the company, which is a respect very *usuall* beyond sea." The Governor did not shew the same courtesy to the party sent to repair the injured blind, many men being slain in that service.

The town of Mousson surrendered seventeen days after opening the trenches, and was attended with inconsiderable loss to the royal army, the principal losses being in horses,

from the humidity of the weather, and the ~~1052~~ nature of the soil on which they were encamped.

The Duke, in his Memoir, makes some acute and judicious observations respecting the conduct of the French officers in carrying on sieges; the success which attended those in the campaigns of M. de Turenne, he greatly attributes to indefatigable *personal* attention, trusting to no one but himself to view and make observations, and constantly visiting the trenches, himself attending to the minutest arrangements.

The Duke also relates a singular circumstance which occurred during the siege of this place, and of which he was a witness. A Captain, of the regiment of Guienne, having newly joined the army, and the regiment being on duty at the trenches, approached to salute the Marshal de Turenne. At the moment he was bowing his head, a shot from the town struck him on the skull, and he fell dead at the feet of the General.

1653. "At which unhappy chance," (adds the Royal relater), "some who were present, made this unseasonable raillery, that if the Captain had been better bred he would have escaped the bullet, which only hit him for not bowing low enough to his General."

After this siege, and that of Rocroi, there was little action between the armies during the campaign, for, besides the season of the year being too far advanced to attempt any thing of consequence, the Spaniards were so diminished, that they seemed by no means inclined to undertake any thing considerable, "employing their time in marches and countermarches on the other side of the Somme, eating up all the forage of their frontier, as we did on this side of the river, observing all their motions."

The Court, however, having got together some troops, undertook the siege of St. Menehou. The Duke requested, and obtained permission of the Marshal, to go to this siege, but his road laying through

Châlons sur Mer, where the Court then resided, he remained there, from different causes, so long that he missed being at the siege; but he accompanied Louis the day after it surrendered, to view the approaches, and the breach that had been made in the body of the place before it capitulated. Upon the removal of the Court, his Royal Highness returned with it to Paris, where he passed the ensuing winter. In the spring of this year the King of England resolved to quit France, in consequence of the treaty of amity then on foot between the Crown and Oliver Cromwell, then newly made Protector, as Mazarine thought it right to be upon good terms with the Usurper. The Duke of York attended his brother on his way towards Germany, as far as Chantilly, where they took leave of each other, in hopes of a more happy meeting hereafter.

Cromwell, by his stern and imperious character, had obtained an astonishing ascendancy over the mind of Cardinal Mazarine, so that every proposal he made

1663. seemed to meet ready compliance. In consequence of this influence, and the fear of pretended resentment of the English on the countenance which was given to the exiled family, Charles was treated with such indifference that he was fully justified in anticipating the indignity of being compelled to quit the kingdom, he, therefore, voluntarily retired, first to Spa, where he passed some time with his beloved sister, the Princess of Orange, she being at Spa for the benefit of her health. On her return to Holland he went to Cologne, where he resided two years, upon a pension of six thousand pounds per annum, allowed him by the Court of France, and on some trifling contributions from his friends in England.

In the management of his small income, and his family, he discovered a spirit of order and œconomy, which contributed to the ease and content of all around him, every one, from the highest to the lowest, appearing satisfied; which, combined with his own cheerful, careless, and sociable

temper, perhaps more than compensated for 1669. the loss of that Empire of which his enemies had bereaved him. Sir Edward Hyde, created Lord Chancellor, and the Marquis of Ormond, were his particular friends and confidants.*

The King had desired to take his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, with him, who, at this time, was a youth of high promise; but, at the earnest request of the Queen, his mother, consented to suffer him to remain with her at Paris, on her solemn promise that she would not endeavour to influence him in his religious sentiments. A promise which she subsequently violated, removing the Duke's tutor from him, and placing him under the influence of the Abbé Montague, her almoner; who having the Abbey of Pontoise, carried him thither, in order to induce him more readily to embrace the Catholic religion, the Queen endeavouring to excite the ambition of the young Duke the more effectually to further his

*Clarendon. Hume.

1654. conversion. The youth, however, remained firm, his mind perhaps strengthened to resist the persuasions of his mother, by the remembrance of his father's conversations preceding his death. He hastened to inform his brother of the measures pursued to influence his mind, and Charles, highly irritated with his mother, immediately commissioned his confidential friend, the Marquis of Ormond, to escort the Duke of Gloucester from France to Cologne, which, notwithstanding the displeasure of the Queen, was effected, and the Duke continued with the King from that period to the restoration. The Duke of York joined the army as Lieutenant-General, under M. de Turenne, in the campaign of 1654.

This campaign was conducted with all the skill and bravery which may be supposed to distinguish the actions of two such great commanders, as the Marshal Turenne and the Prince de Condé, opposed to each other. They had, in the same armies, learned the discipline and the stratagems which

they now practised against each other, and 1654.
 it was singular with what accuracy they
 judged of their respective conduct, under
 any given circumstance, and to hear them
 declare, almost positively, what each would
 do; as, for instance, "if we do not hasten
 to take such a place, to secure such a pass,
 the Marshal will have it before us," &c.
 The detail, however, of this brilliant cam-
 paign, would be far beyond the limits of the
 present sketch. The Duke of York appears
 to have taken a most active part therein,
 and to have rendered himself worthy, and
 obtained the full confidence of his great
 instructor in the art of war.

The Duke relates, in his Memoir, a sin-
 gular occurrence which took place while
 the army were encamped before Mouchey.
 The enemy used to send out parties of
 horse for powder, each trooper carrying a
 bag of fifty pounds weight behind him,
 on his horse. These parties the roy-
 alists endeavoured to intercept; but from
 the nature of the country, being very open,

1034. they were never able to surprise any of them. Yet, although they thus eluded the royalists, one of these convoys was destroyed by a singular accident. "One night, (writes the Duke), we were with M. de Turenne visiting the guards, presently *wee* perceived a great blaze of fire, quick and violent, like that of blowing up of gunpowder, and it seemed to us to be in the quarter of M. de la Ferté," (one of their own Generals,) they instantly proceeded thither, but the sentinels who were on the height, informed the party they had also seen the blaze, but that it was not where the Marshal and his company imagined, but on the plain, far beyond those quarters. The next morning the subject was explained, they received information that an entire regiment of horse, consisting of six score, going from Douay to the enemies camp, all of them, officers as well as soldiers, having behind them a bag of powder, beside four score horses, laden with hand grenades, had been all blown up, but by what accident none of those who were brought prisoners to the camp

could tell. Indeed; (continues the Narrative,) 1004.

“it was a very *dismall* object, to behold a great number of poor men, who were brought into our camp, with their faces disfigured, and their bodies burnt by powder, so that few of them recovered; their companions having been all killed out right. These prisoners were brought in by some of our party, who went out on that side of the country, and seeing the flash at a great distance, rode up to the place to *gaîne* a more clear knowledge of the matter; they also brought along with them some few *scorch't* horses, and a *paire* of *kittle* drums which belonged to that regiment, and all the men who had any life remaining in them.”

The Duke happened, when in Flanders, subsequently to this, to meet with a Lieutenant of horse, who explained the accident to him. The Duke observing that his face was much disfigured, as if from being burnt, casually asked him how he had

1681. incurred such a misfortune? The officer informed him that it was occasioned by an explosion of gunpowder, near Arras, naming the time: this excited the curiosity of the Duke, and the officer informed him, that happening to be in the rear of the regiment alluded to, he saw one of the troopers with a pipe of tobacco lighted, in his mouth; whereupon he rode up to him, and taking it gently from him, threw it away, after which he beat the soldier with his sword. The soldier being intoxicated, pulled out his pistol, and presented it to the Lieutenant's breast, upon which the latter threw himself from his horse, apprehending what might happen, and the trooper, at the same instant, firing at him, it lighted on the bag on the Lieutenant's horse, which instantly took fire, and blew up, and so, from one successively to the other who was next, thus going through the whole regiment: the Lieutenant being on the ground escaped with having his face, his hands, and other parts of his body dreadfully scorched. Had he in the laudable mindfulness of his duty, been more

cool in the exercise of his authority, this 1655. dreadful calamity might have been avoided.

When this campaign was ended the Duke of York went to Paris, arriving there about the middle of December, and continuing the winter. It was at this time that the Duke of Gloucester joined the King at Cologne.

The campaign of 1655, was opened by the siege of Landrecy. After it was raised, and the Spaniards had withdrawn, Louis and the Cardinal visited the army. The same acts of heroism distinguished this campaign as the former, the Duke appearing daily to acquire greater confidence and power. In the course of it, M. de Turenne wishing to attend the Court, then residing at Compeigne, left the army under the command of the Duke; and it is remarkable as being at the same time when the treaty between the Court of France and Cromwell was concluded, in which treaty the Duke of York was banished from France.

1655. On the return of M. de Turenne, "to the army, I obtained" (writes the Duke) "leave to go to the Court, the army being at that time just ready to go into winter quarters, and no likelihood of any more action that year; for as long as there was any, I thought myself obliged, in honour, not to quit the army, though I knew the treaty between the Crown of France and Cromwell, by *vertue* of which I was presently to leave the country, was signed on both sides."

The Duke was received with the greatest kindness by the Court, and great apologies were made respecting the treaty. He was assured that it would make no difference in the conduct of the Court of France towards him, the Cardinal protesting that he was most unwillingly obliged to assent to it, to secure the safety of the Crown, alleging, that if he had not then closed with Cromwell, the Spaniards would have prevented him, by forming an alliance with the Usurper, and had already offered to assist

him in taking Calais. The Duke, in his 1656. Narrative, justifies the conduct of the Cardinal, as perfectly consistent with his duty as a minister.

His Royal Highness remained a few days at Compeigne, and thence proceeded to Paris, where he arrived the 23rd of November, and soon after the Court also returned. The Cardinal seemed unwilling, or pretended to be so, that the Duke should be obliged to leave France, according to the treaty with Cromwell, apprehending, if the Duke went, he should not be able to retain the Irish who were in the French army; he, therefore, offered to solicit Cromwell to consent to his remaining in the service of France, assuring the Duke, that if his application should not prevail, his pension should go on wherever the Duke might be, provided he did not take up arms against France. Cromwell consented that the Duke should remain in the French service, except when acting in Flanders. The Cardinal then proposed to

him to serve under the Duke of Modena, in Italy, which the Duke readily assented to, being desirous to extend his sphere of action and improvement, and more particularly, as his aunt, the Duchess of Savoy, had expressed to the Queen her desire to have the Duke near her. This plan was accordingly agreed to, but circumstances subsequently prevented its accomplishment.

About the beginning of February, 1656, the Princess of Orange visited her mother, at Paris, the Duke of York having met her between Peronne and Cambray. She was received with great civility by the Court, who met her at the entrance of the capital, and conducted her to the Palais Royale.

Some little time prior to this an insurrection of the King's party was designed in England, and expresses were sent to Cologne, to assure him that it needed but his concurrence to be successful, urging him to repair to some place on the coast, to be in readiness against the time when things were in a good posture to receive him.

How weak, visionary, or ill-timed soever 1650.
 this plan appeared to Charles, and his prudent counsellors; he yet foresaw, if he did not accede to it, that neglect of his friends, and a culpable indolence might be imputed to him. The Earl of Rochester obtained his permission to repair to England; to ascertain how things really were, and the King proceeded to Zealand; in pursuance with the wishes of his English friends. Many fluctuating reports from England reached him, at one time elevating him with hopes, at another destroying them. A rising at Salisbury bid fair for his cause, but the issue was unfortunate, and the same ill success occurred in the north. The Earl of Rochester was at length obliged to own the hopelessness of affairs, and, after incurring a variety of hazards, returned to the King, in Zealand, and he soon after attended him back to Cologne.

The unseasonable attempt in England was most unfortunate for the royal cause, not only as many gallant persons perished, but also by strengthening the power of

1656. Cromwell, by giving him a pretext for the harshest measures, one of which was his order for decimating the King's army.

Affairs meanwhile took another turn abroad ; the rupture of the Commonwealth with Spain, and, in consequence, the alliance with France to assist in warlike operations in Flanders. Cromwell undertaking to send over an army of six thousand men, to be commanded by their own superior officer, who was to receive orders only from the Marshal Turenne ; and when Dunkirk and Mardyke were taken, they were to be delivered to the English.

Flanders had notice of this their new enemy before they had advice from Spain, the Spanish Ambassador even knew nothing of what was done while in London. Meanwhile the King, who yet remained at Cologne, hearing of the rupture with England, thought the Spaniards might not be unwilling to enter into some correspondence with him, now it was in their power to do

so without the fear of offending Cromwell. 1657.
 He accordingly made overtures, which were followed by his leaving Cologne for Brussels, from which place he notified to the Archduke, "that he would see him *incognito* in what place or manner he thought fit."

The Spaniards objected to his remaining at Brussels, but intimated their desire that he would remove to Bruges: this he readily agreed to, as the principal object he had in view was to have the reputation of a treaty with the Spanish Court, and the privilege of remaining in Flanders, as from its comparative convenience, he could avail himself of any change in his favour which might take place in England. This treaty was accordingly signed, April, 1657, and the King and family took up their residence at Bruges.

Clarendon mentions, as a convincing proof of the economy that was observed in the King's establishment, that, on leaving Cologne, after a residence of two years, "there

1667. was not the least debt remained unsatisfied,"*

While these steps were taken in Flanders, the Duke of York suggested to the King, that by remaining in France he might serve his interests; Charles, however, would not listen to the measure, but desired him to repair to him at Bruges. In the meanwhile many self-interested persons endeavoured to infuse jealousy of his brother into the mind of the King, and to mortify the Duke, by doing all they could to remove from him persons in whom he trusted, and to whom

* The Spaniards, after many excuses for the lowness of their affairs, which disabled them from acting against a great King as they wished, informed Charles that the Catholic King had assigned him six thousand guilders, to be paid towards the Royal aid, in monthly payments, and half that sum for the support of the Duke of Gloucester; and, although the sum was low, they would endeavour to make up by the punctuality of the payment; the first to commence next month. Thus passing over the three months he had already remained in the country, without receiving any thing. As soon as the treaty with Spain was settled, Charles gave notice to the Court of France, that he should decline the pension allowed him by that government.

Clarendon.

he was attached. While at Bruges, ha- 1057.
 rassed and pressed with many things, which
 to consent to would have been prejudicial
 to his interests, and useless to the King,
 the Duke received letters from the Cardi-
 nal, urging him not to enter into the Spa-
 nish service, it being a very improper thing
 for him to do so, who had been treated in
 France with such kindness, and was re-
 ceiving a pension from thence; but the
 Duke, well knowing the motives of the
 artful Cardinal, was not prevailed upon by
 his plausibility, and replied, "That he
 looked not upon his obligations to France
 such as to hinder him in honour from serv-
 ing Spain, or any other Crown, in case he
 should desire to do so for his own interest,
 but that in all things he should obey the
 orders of the King, his brother." Soon
 after this his Royal Highness accepted the
 offers of his brother and the Spaniards, and
 entered into their service, Charles having
 raised four regiments of his own subjects,
 whom he meant to employ in the Spanish
 service.

1457. . This affair was hardly settled when the Princess Royal arrived at Bruges from Paris, she observed, with regret, that an animosity existed against the Duke, and the schemes there were to remove Sir John Berkeley from his attendance.

The King, on his return from Brussels, whither he had gone a few days before Christmas, to make the final settlement with the Spaniards, respecting their assistance to assert his rights, informed the Duke that the Spaniards required the oath of fidelity from all who might come into their service. The Duke was much chagrined at this condition, which had never been imposed upon the troops of the Prince de Condé, or those of Lorraine ; and he contended that it might prove even prejudicial to the King, because it might reasonably surprise those who were now about quitting the French service merely from duty to his Majesty, if they were to be bound by oath to the Spaniards preferably to him. Every artifice was resorted to, to induce the Duke to dismiss Sir

John Berkeley, it being intimated that he 1657.
 was so disaffected towards the Spaniards that
 he would never be tolerated by them. The
 Duke, however, remained inflexible; but
 at length, finding that the affair was likely to
 make a serious dispute between the King and
 himself, he resolved to retire into Holland,
 and to facilitate this design, he consented to
 the removal of Sir John, it being previously
 settled between them that the Duke would
 follow him in a few days, as privately as
 possible. This consent surprised his friends
 exceedingly, especially his sister, who re-
 proached him with abandoning his innocent
 servant to the malice of his enemies. The
 Duke bore the reproaches of his sister most
 patiently, keeping his intentions a strict
 secret; the dejection caused by his regret at
 quitting the country and his relatives being
 attributed to the absence of Sir John. Nor
 would he ever have taken such a measure,
 had he been able to devise any other mode
 to avoid domestic disputes, and of preserv-
 ing to himself the right of being master of
 his own family, as well as behaving with

1657. integrity to those who served him. His reasons were strengthened by the apprehension that as the Spaniards were represented to him so strongly prejudiced against Sir John Berkeley, they possibly might be the same towards himself, and if so his sojourn in that country would be very unpleasant. He was fully determined, therefore, to withdraw. In the early part of January, 1657, Sir John Berkeley left Bruges and proceeded to Flushing, at which place it was agreed he should remain till the Duke joined him.

On the morning of the Duke's departure he called up his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, as if to accompany him in the sport of shooting; before he went out he received a message from his sister, desiring to see him before he set out. This message somewhat alarmed him, as he feared by some means or other she had obtained intimation of his intention, however, upon going to her, he found it was a little domestic business wherein she wished his

interference, which had induced her to ^{1657.} send for him, and he took his usual farewell without imparting any thing; not that he feared her prudence, or doubted her concurrence and approval, but he feared that it might involve her in some dispute or trouble, which would be prevented if she could declare her perfect ignorance of his intentions. Before he mounted his horse he also visited his brother, the King, and then, accompanied by the Duke of Gloucester, left the town, taking their way towards Sluys. He took also with him Harry Jermyn, and Charles Berkeley, with two or three inferior attendants, in whom he had the greatest confidence; and being arrived at a village near Sluys, "he pretended to his brother that he was to meet somebody who was come out of England, upon affairs of great importance, and had appointed to *speake* privately with him at Sluys. That if he would go to the Downs, and shoot for an hour or two, he would return and find him out; but in case he returned not by the time he named, he

1057. desired he would remain no longer for him, but return to Bruges, where he intended to be before the *shutting* of the gates.*”

How lamentable it is to observe, that the difficulties of this Prince, and the mean jealousies of those who surrounded him, should have obliged him to descend to degrading finesse, and to violate the sanctity of truth, as in this instance. How evil was the example to the youthful Gloucester; nor can we fail to regret that his unsuspecting youth should thus be imposed upon by specious pretences.

The Duke, having parted from his brother, hastened to Sluys, which he passed through without stopping, and arrived at Flushing before night, where Sir John Berkeley awaited him; they proceeded together, without delay, the same night, to Middleburg, the Duke intending to proceed to France, *viâ* Germany; but the ordinary road being blocked up with ice he was obliged

* Clarke.

to take his way by Tervere, Sommerdyke, 1657. Helvoetsluys, &c. Next morning finding a French ship at Tervere, ready to sail, Sir John proposed their embarking in her, as, by that means, they might save themselves a fatiguing and tedious journey, but Charles Berkeley opposed this advice, both on account of the danger of the sea at that season of the year, and also “from the hazard his Royal Highness ran in case they *mett* with any English men of warr, whose custom it was to search any strangers’ ships, to see if they had any English seaman on board of them, and if they found any such to take them out.*”

These reasons prevailed, and they continued their journey, having incurred great danger by crossing, in an open boat, to Helvoetsluys, where they were very near driven out to sea by the ice.

* This right of search, which foreigners, in recent times, have condemned as an unwarrantable innovation, exercised in an unprecedented manner by British men of war, is here proved an old established privilege, without being subjected either to remonstrance or resistance.—*Introduction to Clarke’s History.*

1657. Arrived, at length, at Maesland Sluys, the Duke despatched Sir John to the Hague, to know if he himself might continue in the country a few days privately. Sir John had directions to follow the Duke to Utrecht, whither he continued his journey, and after his arrival there, Sir John returning with the desired permission, the Duke determined to write to the King, his brother, from thence, and to await his reply, ere he prosecuted his journey into France; and even if that answer was a favourable one, not to proceed further,

That he might be in perfect privacy, he lodged at Zuleystein, the residence of a gentleman who had married one of the Maids of Honour to the Princess Royal. Having been hospitably entertained a week at this gentleman's, he was invited by Mr. Vandernatt, to Dieren. While at this place, accounts arrived from Bruges, and letters from the King, by the Marquis of Ormond. These letters were so satisfactory that the Duke resolved to return to Bruges, the King assuring him that Sir John Berkeley should

have free permission to rejoin him in a month. The Duke also learnt that, on the occasion of his departure from Bruges, when the Duke of Gloucester was observed to return without his brother, the truth was suspected, and confirmed when he did not return by the time the gates were closed. His Majesty, the next day, despatched the Marquis of Ormond after him, to Zealand, who finding, on his arrival there, the Duke was gone forward to Holland, returned to Bruges, and on the receipt of the Duke's letter to the King, had been intrusted with the commission of going to Zuleystein. The Duke immediately returned to Bruges, and was kindly received by the King, who assured him every thing should be done for his comfort, and the past forgotten. Sir John Berkeley returned at the expiration of the month, the Duke having dismissed those he disliked from his service, "and, at his request, Berkeley was made a Lord."

About the same time the Princess left Bruges, and the King and his family re-

1657. moved to Brussels : here the Duke found that the intimations of the Spaniards dislike to himself and Sir John Berkeley were entirely false, intended only to serve the purposes of self-interested individuals, particularly the Earl of Bristol, whose intrigues to gain ascendancy in the Spanish Court at first succeeded, but his designs subsequently became too manifest to be mistaken, and he lost all influence. He had exposed himself in the same manner at the French Court, at which, as a man of rank, obliged to flee his country from attachment to the royal family, he had been received, and encouraged by confidence and employment ; but possessing an intriguing and meddling spirit, he foolishly became one of a faction against the Minister, Mazarine, to whom he certainly was bound by ties of gratitude. In consequence of this rash conduct he was deprived of every favour and consideration which he had enjoyed.

In the spring of 1657, the Duke of York joined the Spanish army, and as from the

period when he first came into public life 1657. he had been accustomed to note down whatever occurred to himself, or that he observed as useful or remarkable, we are possessed of the most exact knowledge respecting him, and of every circumstance of the campaigns in which he was engaged. The jealousy of foreign aid, the flattering promises, the tardy resolves, and the slow execution which so remarkably characterize the Spaniards were eminently manifested in the campaign of this period, much discouraging, and in many instances defeating the energies of Charles the Second, and his brother, the Duke of York, who commanded two thousand of his Majesty's troops, English, Scotch, and Irish, drawn out of France in this his first Spanish campaign. And this number might have been doubled, had they not, from the above-named combined causes, been discouraged; particularly by the jealousies fomented by those who feared their own influence would be affected if Charles gained too much favour at the Spanish Court.

1057. The officious spirit of the Earl of Bristol found exercise in mean intrigues against the Duke of York, of whose ascendancy he was jealous. By his plausibility he succeeded in persuading the King to appoint M. de Marsin, Lieutenant-General of the forces that already were, or should in future be raised: "so that the King being above me," writes the Duke, in a tone of chagrin, "and M. de Marsin next under me, I might *have* the less power and authority, or rather be made a mere cypher." In order to gain the good will of M. de Marsin, the Earl prevailed also on Charles to create him a Knight of the Garter, to "recompense him before hand for services done in England."

The beginning of this campaign proved glorious to the Prince de Condé who obliged the French to raise the siege of Cambray. The Spanish army after this marched from their rendezvous near Mons, in June, feigning to relieve Montmedi beleagued by Turenne, but in reality intending to fall

back and surprise Calais, which project ^{1657.} was carried on with great secrecy and conduct, and with every probability of success. Don John, the Prince de Condé, and Caracena, took the lead with the horse. The Duke of York and M. de Marsin followed with the foot, and the Prince de Ligny was appointed to execute the enterprise. On the 2nd of July, the Duke had arrived early in the morning at Arques, intending to reach Calais before night, but while there, received intelligence from Don John of the miscarriage of the enterprise; the reason of which the Duke recounts particularly, but of which we must content ourselves by giving the substance.—

The Prince de Ligny was ordered to attempt the surprise of Calais, at low water, and marched from Gravelines accordingly, when night was closed. He was first to seize that part of the town without the walls adjoining to the Quay; had he done this, the place was understood as not able to stand out twelve hours, the garrison

1057. being weak, as well as the town itself on that side. But the Prince arrived *half an hour too late*.* The water was then too high to pass, he was therefore constrained to draw back, having effected nothing, but given a general alarm to the town, and in tracing his way by the sea to the very place where he should have entered, effectually informed the Governor of the weakness of that part. The hint was immediately taken and improved, for the town was put into such a condition of defence as to render any further attempts hopeless. Thus a fatiguing march was made to no purpose but mortification. There was little action in the beginning of this campaign, but many harassing marches.

After a "generous defence," Montmedi surrendered to the French, on the 10th of

* The practice of our immortal Nelson was very different; promptitude of measures, and exactness to time, were held by him as indispensable qualities. He once said, on an occasion when his punctuality was observed, to that quarter of an hour *before the time I owe all the good I ever did.*

August. M. de Turrene next laid siege to 1657.
 St. Venant, and the Spaniards were too weak to attempt its relief. They, however, proposed to intercept a convoy of five hundred waggons which were conveying bread and ammunition to the besieging army. The failure of this capture, through the supineness and tardiness of the Spanish, was truly mortifying to the gallant spirit of the Duke, and proves the jealousy of the Spanish commanders. The Duke, who acted on that service in the quality of Mestre de Camp General, had so far, by his operations, ensured the success of the enterprise, that it needed only the Prince de Ligny to march up with his horse to take possession of the convoy. The Duke pointed this out to him through the medium of his officer. "To which," writes the Royal Journalist, "he returned this answer, 'That he observed all this as well as myself, and was not ignorant how easy it was to intercept the convoy, but he durst not fall upon it without orders from Don John, or the Marquis of Caracena.'"

1657. It may be imagined how mortified and indignant the bold spirit of the Duke must have been, thus, in the moment of victory, to be checked by such apathy, and senseless kind of discipline, which allowed not a General to profit by an advantage obtained for him. The Duke, fired with disdain and disappointment, galloped up to him, urging him most earnestly not to lose so fair an opportunity by his scrupulous attention to etiquette. The Prince replied, "that the Duke knew nothing of the punctuality of the Spaniards, assuring him that if he attacked without orders, it might cost him his head, especially if he did not succeed." The Duke repeated his entreaties; said he would take the entire responsibility upon himself," and added, "that the Prince might justly say, should his compliance be questioned, that he acted in obedience to him, acting that day in quality of their Mestre de Camp General. But all the Duke's arguments were unavailing upon the Spaniard, and during the discussion, the convey hastened from the danger which they perceived

surrounded them. However, when the neglect was irretrievable, three troops of guards arrived, with orders for the Prince de Ligny to fall upon the convoy, which he obeyed upon what few remained, but in so hasty and disorderly a manner, that the three squadrons which formed the rear of the convoy must have beat them, had not a troop of guards, commanded by Berkeley, whom the Duke had sent to assist them, charged and beat them. The convoy escaped to the enemy's camp without the loss of a single waggon.

The Duke relates a circumstance which is an evidence of the contemptible idea the English troops had of the Spaniards. Reynolds, who commanded the English auxiliaries, sent by Cromwell in aid of the French, offered to M. de Turenne to fall upon the Spanish army with six thousand foot, provided he would assist him with two thousand horse, but the Marshal declined the offer, not thinking it right to hazard so great a body on an undertaking so desperate.

1667. The same procrastination which had allowed the convoy to escape, also occasioned the ill success of the siege of Ar-dres, and so mortified and indignant did it make the Duke of York, that he expressed his sentiments to the Prince de Condé, who replied, " he saw the Duke was a stranger to the proceedings of the Spanish army, but bid him prepare himself to see more and grosser faults committed by them before the end of the campaign. Nor could it be otherwise, from the mode of living in the army, where as much form and stateliness was observed as at Court, and the same indulgences as when enjoying the blessings of peace, in their own mansions: as an instance of this, when the convoy before named, was approaching, the Spanish commanders were taking their *siesta*, within a short distance of the spot, yet no one durst awake them for orders, so strictly did they observe the forms of rank, and its privileges; such forms could not but be prejudicial to the service, occasion the loss of many opportunities, and prove injurious to the individual reputation

of the commanders. Yet those, on this occasion, were both brave men; and "had they not," (observes the Duke) "had the misfortune to be born sons of Spain, they undoubtedly would have proved extraordinary men," being endued with signal courage and ability, requiring only decision and promptitude to render them eminent heroes. 1657.

It would be a recapitulation of what has already been related, to enter into the particulars of this campaign, in which the Duke of Gloucester served under his brother, but was obliged, after the surrender of Mardyke, to quit the army, from having contracted a severe ague, in consequence of unhealthy quarters. At the same time, also, the Prince de Condé was in the most imminent danger, from the same disease.

The Duke, towards the close of the campaign, was put in command of the army at Dunkirk; but, on receiving orders to send the troops into winter quarters, he joined

1658. the King and Spanish commanders at Brussels; the beginning of January, 1658. After a short stay in that city, he proceeded to his sister, then at Breda; the Duke of Gloucester being already there, just recovered from his illness. They remained at Breda till the middle of February, and then went together to Antwerp, to meet his Majesty. Meanwhile the very circumstance of the King's residence in Flanders raised the spirits of the royal party in England, and while the family were at Antwerp, reports prevailed of some expedition to be undertaken, they however died away without producing any thing.

The next campaign was distinguished by the siege and surrender of Dunkirk, and by the many desperate situations in which the army was placed, as well as the gallantry which marked the conduct of the troops. After the surrender of Dunkirk, the Spaniards, at the suggestion of the Duke of York, divided their army. The Duke remaining chief commander at Nieuport, but

the Prince de Ligny being defeated by M. ^{1658.} de Turenne, the Duke marched to Bruges, where he shortly after received the intelligence of Cromwell's death. In consequence of this event he hastened to Brussels, having resigned his command to M. de Marsin, and plans were formed with the royal adherents in England, (who assumed the title of *The Secret Knot*), to effect the restoration of Charles to his rights.

The 1st of August was fixed upon for a general rising : and the Duke of York was to repair to England, to head the loyalists at the appointed time. Every thing was in readiness, and the time arrived to accomplish the desired object ; when it was prevented by the treachery of an individual, Sir Richard Willis, who, trusted with the most secret measures of the loyalists, communicated them to the Parliament. After this disappointment of their hopes, almost at the moment of accomplishment, Charles and his brother became, as it were, fugitives, hardly daring to trust any one.

1658. Before their hopes were quite destroyed, the Duke mentions a circumstance which at once proved the noble soul of Turenne, and the respect he bore for the Duke of York.—The Marshal offered him his own regiment, consisting of twelve hundred men, and the Scot's gendarmes ; a supply of arms, six field pieces with ammunition, necessary tools, and a supply of meal, sufficient to sustain five thousand men for six weeks or two months. He further offered to furnish vessels to convey the troops into England, and still further to facilitate his generous aid, to pawn his plate, and to use all his influence and interest to raise a sum sufficient for carrying the design into execution ; adding, that the Duke might be sure that he had no orders from the Cardinal, but made these offers of his own free will, from kindness to the Duke and his family.

It may readily be supposed that the Duke accepted this noble offer with becoming gratitude and sincere joy ; that he was

most eager to avail himself of it by venturing every thing for his brother ; but, on the unfortunate turn of affairs, produced by the treachery of Willis, the Marshal prevailed upon him to have patience, and not lose all chance of future success by too rash hazards. And, indeed, Providence was even then effecting the wishes of the exiled Princes, in a manner most surprising and unexpected, even at the moment when their disappointment had plunged them well nigh into despair.

At this time, the beginning of the year 1660, when his hopes respecting England were reduced to the lowest ebb, the Duke had the offer of a command in Spain, against Portugal ; and also to be their High Admiral, with the title of Principe de la Mer, which appointment gives the command of the galleys, as well as ships ; and also the privilege of commanding, as Viceroy, any country where the individual who holds it may land, during his stay in it. These posts, therefore, were not only very

1660. honourable, but advantageous; and the Duke receiving the free permission of his brother, the King, accepted the offer.

He was preparing to proceed to Spain in the ensuing spring, when accounts of the rapid and happy changes in England altered his intention, by pointing out his field of action and duty in another quarter. This important revolution was accomplished with equal celerity and success, and without bloodshed, by the prudence and skill of General Monk, who, it is probable, had long meditated it, but carefully concealed his intentions till he saw the favourable moment to accomplish his views. Charles, in this favourable turn of his fortune, experienced the sycophancy of Courts, and the self-interest of politicians. Those who had regarded him with indifference now courted him, and granted to the restored Monarch those marks of respect which they refused to the exiled and unfortunate Prince, and which might then have ameliorated his lot. Having been received with the greatest

respect and honour at the Hague, and the 1660. English fleet being in readiness to receive him, he embarked with his brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, on the 23rd of May, 1660.

The Duke of York having previously gone on board, and taken possession of his command, amidst the acclamations of the officers and seamen, they landed at Dover the 25th, and entered London on the 29th of May, being the birth-day of the restored Monarch.

BOOK III.

From 1660 to 1672 inclusive.

1660. **NEVER** was greater joy known in England than was experienced at the restoration of Charles the Second to the throne of his ancestors. The nation longed for repose, after nineteen years of faction and arbitrary government. The recollection of the misfortunes and difficulties which the now restored Monarch had so long endured, excited for him the liveliest interest in every heart; they thought that all they could do for the son was too little to atone for the murder of the father, and the misery into which that act had plunged his family.

The feelings of the nation, always acute, and so long perverted, misguided, and maddened, returned to their proper tone, and to their legitimate objects. The

reaction was as apparently sudden, as the 1660. restoration of the Monarch to his royal dignities. From tumult, anarchy, and fanaticism, the nation was restored to peace, law, and order; all coercive power over the person of the Monarch was renounced. With the command of the militia the power of the sword was restored to the crown, the parliament was liberal in its grants, the obnoxious triennial act was repealed, which had empowered the assembling of Parliament without the royal consent. The hierarchy, that great support of monarchy, was restored to its dignity: in short, every advantage which a Monarch could reasonably desire, in revenue, in arms, in religion, and in political power, was granted to Charles: to his *dispensing* power alone the Parliament opposed their authority.*

* The coronation of Charles was deferred till the second year of his restoration, when it was solemnized, with extreme magnificence, on the 28rd of April, 1661, being St. George's day. Charles moved from the Tower to White Hall, through a series of triumphal arches, stages, and pageants, all of which presented at once the joy and the wealth of the people before the eyes of the Monarch.—*Walter Scott's Notes to Dryden's Panegyric on the Coronation.*

1660. The personal qualities of Charles, his gaiety, and his engaging manners, riveted the attachment which circumstances had created, and universal joy was diffused throughout the nation, which was, however, clouded almost in its very dawn, by the untimely deaths of the Duke of Gloucester, and the Princess of Orange, both of the small pox. The King was deeply affected, more especially by the loss of his brother, who possessed the most eminent qualities, mental, moral, and personal. He was but twenty years of age when the nation was deprived of his example, and the advantages of his maturing talents. The Princess of Orange, who had visited England to partake of the joy of the restoration, was equally admired and beloved, for her personal merits, and for her firm attachment to her family.

Another event occurred this year, which was fruitful of important consequences, namely, the marriage of the Duke of York with Anne Hyde, daughter of the Chancellor. At the time the Princess of Orange

visited her mother at Paris, this lady was one of her Maids of Honour, and captivated; by her wit and personal qualities, the young Duke of York. Anne had yielded to the solicitations of her Royal lover, but had the dexterity to obtain from him a promise of marriage, some time previous to the restoration; and, upon that event taking place, the Duke, after much importunity, obtained permission from the King to fulfil his engagement.* The Queen's mother also visited England, and obtained the consent of Charles to the union of his sister, the Princess Henrietta, with the Duke of Orleans, brother of the French King.

Charles raised General Monk and Sir Edward Hyde to the peerage, creating the

* The Duchess was a woman of first-rate understanding and prudence, as well as candour, of which she gave a proof after marriage, by her conduct towards those who had vilified her, in order to prevent her union with the Duke. She assured them she harboured no resentment, as she believed the reports they had raised calculated to promote the interest of their master and her husband — *Grammont*.

~~1629~~ former Earl of Albemarle, and the latter Earl of Clarendon. His enemies he treated with moderation and lenity. Argyle was indeed executed in Scotland, but only six of the Regicides suffered in England. The most cruel circumstance in the trial of those persons was that several of the popular party sate as their judges, and doomed them to die for that rebellion to which they had incited them.*

We must necessarily pass over the detail of events which were brooding in the nation, for, beneath all the outward promising appearances, there lurked "the fruits of past dissensions, and the seeds of future ones;" but our attention can only be directed to those which more immediately affected the subject of our Memoir, the Duke of York,

Nothing indeed of great importance occurred from the event of the King's marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, which was

* Ludlow.

negotiated by Lord Clarendon, in the year 1662,* until the Dutch war; except the secret workings of the republican parties against Government; for the spirit of liberty which had been awed by the fear of danger, or diverted in the moments of joy, gained strength in secret from the interruption, and many who had been disappointed in effecting a Republican Government, converted hatred of Monarchy into jealousy of the Monarch. Many were the exciting causes of this secret discontent, which was manifested, first by jealousy of the King's friends, more particularly of the Chancellor, among whose enemies, ranked the Lord Arlington, Sir W. Coventry, and the Duke of Buckingham.

The Duke of York, being Lord High Admiral, first turned his attention and at-

* The Queen was plain in her person, and consequently possessed little influence over her gallant husband. She was, however, always treated by him with civility, and when persecuted by the popular party, experienced his warmest protection.—

Scott's Notes on Dryden.

1662. tivity to inform himself of the condition of the fleet, which, from the death of Cromwell, had been neglected and exhausted. On his report to the King, Parliament voted twelve hundred thousand pounds, to be applied to the necessities of the State; eight hundred thousand of this sum were appropriated to the service of the fleet. The Duke also applied himself to the knowledge of trade, and gave great encouragement to the trading companies, adding to those of the East Indies, Turkey, Hamburgh, and Canary; as also one for Guinea, called the Royal African Company, intended to check the encroachments and monopoly of the Dutch. Two ships were sent to support the Company in effecting this object.

The King, sometime after this, gave the Duke a patent for Long Island, in the West Indies, and lent him two ships to take possession of it. The Parliament encouraged these efforts to advance trade, by passing an act of navigation, and other bills for the building of ships, and naval improvements.

These active measures, and the complaints of the merchants of the injuries they received from the Dutch, were the incipient causes of the subsequent Dutch war, for those complaints induced both Houses of Parliament to resolve, "That the indignities and *dammages* done to us by the Dutch were the greatest obstacle to foreign trade, and that his Majesty would be pleased to take speedy course for the redress therof."

The history of this war would carry us far beyond the compass of a Volume, we must therefore, however reluctantly, content ourselves with saying that the Duke's experienced courage and decision, procured for him the confidence of the King, and the nation, and he was appointed Grand Admiral in the expedition against the Dutch, with one of the finest fleets that ever sailed from the shores of Britain. The victory he gained was regarded as a signal service to the nation: he took and sunk twenty-two of the enemy's ships, burnt that of the Admiral, with him on board, and forced the remainder to retire

1662. within their ports. The Duke exposed himself to every hazard, his resolution, calmness, and presence of mind, never forsaking him.

By the command of his Majesty, the Duke left the fleet under the conduct of the Earl of Sandwich, and proceeded to London, to the King, who determined that neither the Duke nor Prince Rupert should go to sea again that year, alleging his unwillingness to expose them to further danger, nor could all the arguments of the Duke prevail upon him to alter his determination ; all he could obtain was, to take a view of the fleet, when ready to put to sea at the Nore, whither the King accompanied him.*

At this time the plague raging with great violence, the Court removed to Salisbury, and shortly after the Duke of York and

* The Duke of York, being heir apparent to the crown, it was not thought right that he should expose himself to a second sea fight, likely to prove as bloody and dangerous as that of the 3rd of June, 1664.

family proceeded to York, the King desir- 1666.
 ing it, from some apprehension of a rising
 among the Republican party in that quarter,
 as many corresponded with the Dutch, by
 whom they were encouraged. The King
 and family next went to Oxford, where the
 Parliament met, and the Duke of York also
 repaired thither. In this session they granted
 a liberal supply to the King, and at the
 " same time begged leave to make a pre-
 sent; of about six score thousand pounds, to
 his Royal Highness, in token of the great
 sense they had of his conduct and bravery
 in the late engagement; and they gave also
 particular thanks to the King, for his care
 in preventing his royal brother from expos-
 ing himself to any further danger at sea."

As his Royal Highness was not permitted
 to take a share in the various events at sea
 which occurred in the year 1666, we shall
 not advert to them further than to state, that
 Louis joined the Dutch against the English.
 The British fleet put to sea, under the con-
 duct of Prince Rupert, and Lord Alber-

~~1666~~ marle. The English obtained a complete victory over the Dutch on the 25th and 26th of July.* On the 1st of September, the Dutch, attempting to join the French, were prevented by Prince Rupert, and compelled to return to their harbours. In this year occurred the dreadful fire in which the Duke of York most humanely and actively engaged to render assistance to the sufferers.†

The Parliament, now weary of the war, and seeing the nation under the triple

* The daring spirit of Monk was never more conspicuous in any period of his eventful and adventurous life than in this grand and desperate action: he is stated to have kept a pocket pistol charged, with the design of firing it into the powder-room, if reduced to extremity.—*Scott's Notes on Dryden.*

† The King also, by his conduct in this emergency, gained more upon the hearts of his subjects, than by any action of his life. Completely awakened, as it were, from the usual lethargy of indolence and pleasure, he entered the half-consumed city, with his brother, and his nobility, and gave admirable proofs of what his character was capable when excited to laudable exertions. He subsequently received the thanks of his Parliament, for his prudence and exertion in this dreadful calamity. Indeed, it would be difficult to say which of the brothers rendered the greatest assistance, or shewed the truest sympathy.

scourge of pestilence, war, and fire, met 1604
 in angry humour, and although they could
 not attribute the two former calamities to
 human agency, the latter, they without
 scruple, imputed to the papists, and ac-
 cordingly drew up an accusation against
 them, which was, however, overruled; but,
 on pretence of mismanagement, they re-
 fused supplies for the prosecution of the
 war, and the King was persuaded to confine
 himself to defensive operations. The Duke
 opposed the measure as inexpedient and
 dangerous; but his arguments were over-
 ruled, although subsequent events proved
 the justice of his reasons, and his political
 foresight. That it gave encouragement to
 the enemy was proved, by the Dutch enter-
 ing the Medway, as high as Chatham, and
 destroying three ships of war, retiring with
 inconsiderable loss: this was followed by
 further insults on several parts of the coast.
 Parliament was assembled to provide against
 these descents, but on the King's coming
 to the House he informed them their bur-

ness was settled by a peace with the Dutch.
The Parliament, therefore, was prorogued.

The disaffected party, encouraged by these circumstances, became very turbulent and troublesome, nor did they rest till they had persuaded the King to remove from office the Chancellor, whom his enemies had long been intriguing to ruin. The envious and factious Earl of Bristol, one of his bitterest enemies, had even impeached him to Parliament, in 1664; but, the King then supporting him, the design was defeated. This disappointment augmented the rancour of the Earl of Bristol, and he was violent in the expression of his sentiments. The other enemies of the Chancellor acting more warily, by that means much more effectually injured him, by gradually weakening the confidence of the King, and insinuating by degrees, a disgust of his measures. To further their plans they engaged the Duchess of Cleveland, then the King's favourite mistress, a prodigal, dissolute, and revengeful woman, who, to gratify her own

mean passions, became the willing agent ~~for~~ against an individual whose integrity she could not warp.

The Duke of York had the unpleasant office assigned him of acquainting the Chancellor of his dismissal; it was softened, however, on the part of the King, by the assurance that although the state of affairs obliged him to require the resignation of the seal, yet his private pension would be continued.

The Chancellor obeyed, without hesitation, the requisition of the King, only lamenting that this was but the beginning of the triumph over the judgment and firmness of his master. The great seal was given to Sir Orlando Bridgman, whose capacity was not equal to the arduous duties of the office. Clarendon was impeached, but the Houses could not agree upon it. In the meanwhile he retired to France, and an act subsequently passed for his banishment, which he survived seven years.

1646. Thus did ignorant faction, and royal ingratitude equally appear. The prodigality of the King, who had applied to the payment of his own debts, the money voted for the equipment of the navy, irritated the Parliament, made the people clamorous, and obliged the King to listen to the importunities of those favourites whom he had made essential to his selfish pleasures, to sacrifice to them an upright Minister, and to erase from his memory his long and faithful services, while Clarendon had to prove the truth of the remark, that "the bitterest enemy is a false friend.*"

The Chancellor, however, was scarcely removed, ere his enemies quarrelled among themselves, and turned their envy and intrigues against the Duke of York, fearing

* The popular discontent was chiefly excited against him by a groundless charge of corruption, an accusation always ready in the mouth of ignorant and narrow minded men, who, knowing they possess no principles to resist the temptations of peculation, are ever ready to attribute the same weakness to those whose integrity they cannot understand.

his influence with the King to have the 1668.
 Chancellor recalled. So successful were they in their insinuations against the Duke, that the King behaved with unusual coolness towards him ; for, under the pretence of duty and zeal, his enemies had infused jealousy into the heart of the King, intimating, that to invest the Duke with any power was unsafe, considering the displeasure that might have been excited in his mind by the removal of the Chancellor. The King, however, (although his manner was more distant than usual towards the Duke), could not be induced to doubt his fidelity, his natural indolence rather suffering him to rest in suspicion, than to take the trouble of investigating the grounds of the feeling. Yet the faction against him succeeded in removing from influence all the Chancellor's friends. Every thing underwent a change ; Prince Rupert, the Duke of Ormond, and other noblemen, who had possessed the confidence of the nation, no longer attended the deliberations of the Council ; all power in the three kingdoms seemed to be vested

1668. in the hands of five persons, Sir Thomas Clifford, Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale.

“Never” (says Hume) “was there a more dangerous ministry, nor one more noted for pernicious counsels.” They were known by the appellation of *The Cabal*, a word formed by the initials of their names. Buckingham and Shaftesbury were the most jealous of the Duke’s influence with the King, as most likely to interfere with their own: Clifford had great influence in the Commons; Shaftesbury possessed an equal share in the Upper House. Arlington had inclinations to popery, but maintained connections with the Dissenters; Buckingham was indifferent to all religion, and favoured all sects as circumstances might render them useful to his ambition. Lauderdale possessed considerable influence with the Presbyterians; and Shaftesbury and Buckingham were supported by the people, because they pretended a reverence for their rights and privileges,

Such was the heterogeneous ministry ^{1660.} that conducted public measures, producing a variety of events, which at once alarmed the fears and excited the jealousies of the nation. But, although sufficient was known to produce anxiety, yet the dark and crooked paths pursued by the actors forbade the hope of tracing them satisfactorily. Their operations were began by infusing jealousy of his Parliament into the breast of the King, insinuating that he should not supinely give way to it, but assert his authority. They recommended a French alliance, flattering him with the assurance that a war against Holland, with the combined force of France and England, would be an easy measure, and ensure conquest. That, under the pretext of such a war, a military force might be raised with comparative ease: and that such force was essential to preserve the royal prerogative: and that by humbling the States, the King would give an useful lesson to his republican subjects, who were encouraged by Holland in their factious projects. This advice too well accorded

1666. with the inclinations of Charles, his desire of authority, his religious prejudices, his hatred of the Dutch, his desire of French alliance, as favouring his avidity for money, and his jealousy of his own subjects. It is obvious that under the plea of ensuring the King's authority nothing less was proposed than giving him absolute power. The whole plan militated equally against the genius of the people, the integrity of the constitution, and the public sentiment, at the period when proposed: Indeed, in whatever view we contemplate the intrigues of this Cabal, they appear alike criminal, absurd, and visionary; and did we not daily observe the dazzling and bewildering influence of faction and ambition, we should be led to doubt the facts asserted of the machinations of these wily statesmen. Such was the state of public feeling, and such the insidious views of the Monarch's advisers. But the greatest cause of sensation with the people was the suspicion that the King was a favourer of the Catholic religion, to which his foreign education, the influ-

ence of his mother, and even his moral 1687.
 character, it was very naturally supposed
 might incline him. Nor could the popular
 measure of forming the alliance with Sweden
 and Holland, called the triple alliance, re-
 store confidence, although it gave great
 satisfaction to the people. Suspicion still
 lurked in the nation respecting the inten-
 tions of the King, and, in truth, they were
 well grounded, for that alliance had little
 influence over his private determinations.

Charles's dislike to the Dutch was in-
 terate and obstinate, even amounting to a
 passion. The ruling one of the Duke
 of York was a zeal for religion, and the
 conversion of the one, brought into action
 the resentful feelings of the other, in aid of
 his political designs. All the various pas-
 sions which had brooded in, and agitated
 the minds of men, at this period, burst forth
 upon the conversion of the Duke to the
 Catholic religion.

The Duke was fated, in common with

~~1669~~ every conspicuous character on the arena of the world, to experience the transient nature and mutability of popular feeling. The plaudits which had followed his victories, the admiration of his talents for business, and his comprehensive abilities, were but the preludes to his disgrace; for, without any diminution of his individual merits as a statesman, warrior, or subject, he became the object of hatred, distrust, and jealousy to the people, whose affections and confidence he had enjoyed; and obnoxious to that nation over which he was fated to reign, by abjuring the Protestant, and embracing the Catholic faith. This event, so fatal to the tranquillity of the kingdom, so fatal to his own public estimation, took place the beginning of 1669. At first he hoped to be allowed by the church, whose doctrines he had embraced, to appear outwardly as a Protestant, until he could, with safety, have avowed his change of sentiment; but, upon consulting Father Simons, the Jesuit, who had received his abjuration, he assured the Duke, that even the Pope could not

give him a dispensation to do so, for it was 1669.
 an unalterable article in the Catholic Church
 not do evil, that good might follow. This
 opinion was confirmed by the Pope him-
 self, to whom the Duke wrote upon the
 subject. The Duke's zeal for the Romish
 religion was the more violent, because, like
 all converts, he believed it to be the result
 of his reason, for he had studied the con-
 troversy long before he fixed his faith; that
 faith, which, by endangering the peace and
 liberties of the nation, precipitated him
 from his high responsibilities, and accele-
 rated his ruin. With the characteristic
 ardour of a zealot, he believed, that to
 prove the sincerity of his conversion, and
 to expiate his former errors, it was necessary
 to extend, to the utmost of his power, the
 effects and the benefits of that conversion.
 With this view he solicited an audience of
 the King, of whose sentiments upon the
 subject he was by no means ignorant;
 although he was also well aware they had
 been far weaker in operation than his own.
 The prejudices of Charles were certainly

1669, in favour of Catholicism, it was a mode of faith which well suited his taste for splendour and pleasure; but his predeliction might be regarded rather as a consequence of his thoughtless disposition, and indifference to any religion, than a principle of action, on a conviction of the heart—An attachment arising from its indulgence to the senses, but little regarded as the regulator and purifier of them; and,—perhaps, of its theological tenets he was, for the most part, ignorant. The Duke had, however, not failed to avail himself of the ascendancy, which his stern genius gave him, over the mind of the more pliant Charles; and, it appears, that which had only been the bias of inclination, was to receive the sanction of his judgment, and to be his stimulus of action. The Duke, on the contrary, had zealously adopted the principles of Catholicism, his conversion was intire, without reserve from interest, or doubts of the truths he deduced from his inquiries. A private meeting was agreed to, in consequence of his application to the King, to which the

Lords Arundel and Arlington, Sir Thomas 1600.
Clifford, and Sir Richard Bealing, were
invited, to advise upon the ways and me-
thods fit to be taken, for advancing the
Catholic religion in the kingdom.

The King, at this conference, declared
his mind in regard to religion, with great
warmth, saying he was resolved to live no
longer in the restraint he was under; and
so strongly did he seem impressed with the
subject, that it is stated, he shed tears of
joy at the thought of the revival of the
Romish religion in England. Surely Charles
must, on this occasion, have exercised his
favourite dispensing power over his own
conscience, when he could be unmindful of
the dying injunction of his father, viz. "*In
this (the Church of England) I charge you
to persevere.*"*

The result of this secret conference was
to endeavour to effect the desired work,
with the aid, and in conjunction with

* Advice to his Son, by Charles the First.

1670. France. The Lord Arundel was to be sent to confer with the French King, and to conclude the treaty. This conference, and its resolves, was kept a profound secret; neither Buckingham, Shaftesbury, nor Lauderdale being informed of it; and, in order to obtain their co-operation in the spirit of it, Charles descended to a very mean and disgraceful, although most refined artifice.

After the secret conclusion of the treaty, which took place in the beginning of the year 1670, the King pretended to these ministers, that he wished to form a treaty of alliance with France, for mutual support, and a Dutch war: and, after various pretended difficulties were surmounted, a sham treaty was settled, containing every article of the secret one, *except* the principal one, *the King's change of religion*. The purport of this secret treaty was, that Louis was to grant Charles 200,000 pounds a year, in quarterly payments, in order to enable him to settle the Catholic religion in England; also to supply an army of 6000 men, in

case of insurrection. When that work was 1670.
 accomplished, England was to aid France
 in making war upon Holland: in the event
 of success, Louis was to have the inland Pro-
 vinces, the Prince of Orange, Holland in
 Sovereignty, and Charles, Sluys, the Brill,
 Walcheren, and the rest of the ports, as far
 Maesland Sluys.

Nothing, surely, can more completely
 prove the false and short-sighted calcula-
 tions of projectors, than this political in-
 trigue, or afford a stronger instance of the
 power of passion to overcloud and mislead
 the judgment, and blind the understanding;
 causing, in proportion, as the desired object
 is contemplated through this perverted me-
 dium, its dimensions to be increased, and
 its consequence magnified, while every
 opposing circumstance to its accomplish-
 ment diminishes, or is lost in the glare of
 the one desired. Charles and the Duke so
 much desired it, that they deemed the
 change of religion an easy undertaking, if
 prudently entered upon; yet how strange

1670. the inconsistency; if they thought it necessary to conceal their project from three of the ministers, how could they imagine they would be able to overcome the national dislike, but by again plunging the kingdom into a civil war, and by dragooning men, to embrace their sentiments. They seemed entirely to forget that the human mind spurns controul, that it can never act vigorously or permanently, unless where it acts upon conviction, and that it feels no conviction but what is the result of its own energies, freely and without dictation exercised. Louis entered most readily into the extravagant project, because he meant to render it subservient to his own ambitious and encroaching views, for the detaching England from its alliance with Holland, was essential to the success of his plans of extending empire. The better to effect this, he advised Charles to suspend his religious project until the subjection of Holland should have gratified the English, and thereby rendered it more prudent and practicable, but this was objected to by the

zealous Catholics, whose desire of making 1670. proselytes, with all its good and evil consequences, it is well known, is inseparable from their faith. Louis, therefore, apparently, yielded his opinion; yet, as he was more intent, at that time, to extend his territory, than to assist in the spread of his religion, he by no means gave up the point. He was well acquainted with the character of Charles—He knew it would not be very difficult to make him concur in his views: in fact, the eventful life of Charles had disposed him to indulge that repose which his change of fortune allowed. Rendered equally averse by pleasure and indolence, from contending or discussing any plan which required him to look to consequences, or from which to expect difficulty, he soon could be induced to yield his opinion, rather than examine its grounds. This supineness of temper is illustrated by an anecdote related of him. The Duke of York was one day urging him to something which required exertion, "Well, well, James," was his reply,

1670. "It does not signify, I am too old to go on my travels again." This was the Monarch's weak side, and the artful Louis availed himself of it to draw Charles from his alliance with the Dutch, promising him a considerable sum, as a further stimulus, to effect his wishes.

This secret alliance was known to no one in France, but Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, to Louvois the minister, and the Marshal de Turenne. The plenipotentiary, to conclude the treaty with her brother, was Henrietta, who, in order to secure the secrecy of the treaty, was to accompany Louis on a tour of inspection on the coast.

This is not the first instance in which the fate of nations has been decided beneath the gorgeous splendour of courtly festivity. The ruin of the Dutch was planned in the midst of the pleasures which distinguished this royal progress, resembling, in magnificence, more the triumphs of ancient Emperors, than the

journey of a modern Potentate. The King 1670. was accompanied by his whole Court, the splendours of which were displayed even in the conquered towns. Henrietta, intrusted with the secret negotiation, embarked, during these festivities, on board the English fleet, to meet her brother at Dover ; nor could a more able and insinuating ambassadress have been chosen.

Henrietta possessed all the vivacity and engaging manners of Charles, her accomplishments of mind, and her graces of person, were of superior order. Her conversation was fascinating and animated, and, in the school of adversity, her mind had been matured, her manners softened. Her understanding was good, and well cultivated ; her judgment was correct, and taste delicate. It may readily be supposed that Charles was much attached to this accomplished sister ; and, in fact, so high was his opinion of her mental superiority, that she possessed very great influence over him. But Louis trusted not solely to this

1670. fraternal partiality, or the single influence of Madame. He well knew the power of beauty on the susceptible Charles ; and, to aid the fascinations of Henrietta, the force of which he had himself felt, a beautiful Frenchwoman, Mademoiselle Querouaille accompanied Madame.* These fair negotiators completely succeeded ; for circumstances were most favourable to facilitate the object of their mission. The Duke of York, who had been very averse from the interview, fearing the consequences to the secret treaty, was under the necessity of remaining in London, when the King left it for Doyer, in expectation of disturbances in closing the conventicles, therefore did not join the royal party until Madame had prevailed on Charles to recede from the former measures, and resolve to begin operations by a Dutch war. In this determination,

* This lady became the favourite mistress of Charles, and was created Duchess of Portsmouth. She preserved her ascendancy over the volatile Monarch till the last hour of his life. She retained her beauty to an advanced age ; for, even when seventy, " her countenance was noble and pleasing."

Arlington and Clifford concurred, having also been gained by the fascinations of Madame and her beautiful colleague. The Duke warmly expressed his surprize and concern at the change, as ruinous to the Catholic design, but his reasons against it were overruled. Madame further exerted her influence with the King, to restore his confidence to Buckingham, who had displeased him ; she also succeeded in uniting Arlington and Buckingham, who, however they agreed in endeavours to mortify the Duke of York, endeavoured to supplant each other. So far had this been carried, that Buckingham had offered his services to the Duke, with great protestations of what he would do for him. "To which his Royal Highness gave a plain answer; that he had formerly received such offers from that Duke without performance, and therefore could not trust him ; besides, that he looked on it as below him, to enter into any of their Cabals, being resolved to serve the King in his own way."* The

* Clarke.

1670. voyage of Madame excited the attention and jealousy of the Dutch, but the lovely ambassadress lived not to see the fruits of her negotiation; she returned to France with the glory of having been successful, when a sudden and painful death deprived France of one of her greatest ornaments, June 30th, 1670, in the twenty-sixth year of her age. Her death was by some attributed to the effects of poison, but, from contemporary French historians, there was no ground for the suspicion. Charles deeply felt the loss of this beloved sister, but her untimely fate made no alteration in the agreement between the two Monarchs.*

Things continued pretty quiet at Court, the two ministers being reconciled; but

* In August, 1669, died Henrietta Maria, the Queen-mother, at Colombe, near Paris. She was the youngest daughter of Henry the Fourth, of France, born November 23, 1609, was married to Charles the First, 1625. After her great and many sufferings, God was pleased, at last, to comfort her with the sight of her son's restoration to his father's crown. She excelled in all the qualities of a good wife, a good mother, and a good Christian."—*King James's Memoirs*.

the death of the Duchess of York, a con- 1070.
 vert to the Romish church, further confirmed
 the suspicions of the people respecting the
 sentiments of the Duke, to whose influence
 they ascribed her conversion. "And, in-
 deed," (writes Father Sanders), "not with-
 out cause, he had taken great care that the
 same book which, upon the reading of it,
 had made so much impression on himself,
 should, as it were by chance, light into the
 Duchess's hands; she read it, and was
 touched with her own reflections which she
 made as she read it." She died with great
 devotion and resignation, requesting the
 Duke, if any of the Protestant Bishops
 came to visit her, he would tell them the
 truth, and beg them not to disturb her by
 controversy. Accordingly, when Doctor
 Blandford visited her, the Duke informed
 him of the request, to which the good
 Bishop replied, "he made no doubt she
 would do well, since she was fully con-
 vinced. He afterwards entered her chamber,
 and made her a short and suitable Christian
 exhortation, and left her."

1670. Meanwhile the alarm of the Dutch, at the voyage of Madame, was increased by Buckingham being sent to Paris, and, in consequence, the Dutch minister there desired to be empowered to assure de Witt, that the Duke was sent upon nothing prejudicial to his ministers.*

These jealousies of the States were augmented by the recall of the English minister, Sir William Temple; for so established was his character, for honour and integrity, that while he remained, de Witt felt secure in the fidelity of England. The real intention of Temple's recall was concealed, under pretence that his absence from the

* On the 3rd of January, 1670, died George Monk, Earl of Albermarle, whom the King used to stile his political father. He was the chief instrument of his restoration, and received honours proportionable to his merits. He was brave in action, and uncorrupt in practice. His noble speech to his fleet, in the engagement against the Dutch, in 1665, is sufficient to animate any English heart. It concluded with these words, "to be overcome is the fortune of war, but to fly is the fashion of cowards. Let us teach the world that Englishmen had rather be acquainted with death than fear.—*Lives of the Admirals.*

States would be but temporary; but the 1670.
 Dutch resident was desired to inform the English Court, that he should consider the recall of Sir William as a declaration of a change of measures in England. About this period, also, two powerful factions began to agitate Holland, the effects of which produced consequences the most important, both to the States and England. The Prince of Orange was in his twenty-second year, and gave indications of great qualities, well suited to attach the people he was to govern; who, appretiating those qualities, insisted that he should share in the administration of power.*

About six months after the death of the the Duchess of York, the King advised

* After the decease of William the Second, 1652, and the contentions with the English that followed that event, de Witt, the partizan of freedom and enemy of the House of Orange, was appointed grand pensionary of Holland, and became the zealous adviser of peace between the two countries; and, upon the conclusion of the war, *by the demand of Cromwell*, the House of Orange was excluded from the Stadtholderate.

1672. Duke to form another matrimonial alliance, and the Princess of Inspruck was proposed to him. After considerable delay, Sir Bernard Gascoigne was sent to Vienna to negotiate the marriage, and the articles were agreed to. Lord Peterborough was then despatched to espouse the Princess by proxy, but was stopped at Calais, by the intelligence of the Empress's death, and the resolution of the Emperor, in consequence, to marry the Princess himself. Of course the negotiation was at an end. While these events were passing, the public prejudices against the Duke of York increased, for he had thrown aside disguise, and openly avowed his change of religion, thus affording the opposing faction ample pretext for their operations and intrigues.

The year 1672 began, in secret preparations for the war with Holland, in the spring, in pursuance of the French treaty. The Duke of Monmouth was to embark for Flanders, with six thousand troops, he

having been previously raised to the Council Board.* 1672.

The Cabal now formed the Cabinet Council: Lauderdale was created a Duke, Sir Thomas Clifford a Baron, and the Duke of York was put in command of the fleet. Shaftesbury was zealous for the war; for, although ignorant of the secret treaty, there are always specious reasons to be found by ambitious men, to justify the measures they desire to be adopted. He was now Chancellor, on the resignation of Sir Orlando Bridgeman, and furthered, with all his power and eloquence, the union with France against Holland, and the breach of the triple league, which had raised a barrier for England, against the domination of France. The ardent spirit of this restless statesman probably led him to believe that a trium-

* James, Duke of Monmouth and Buccleugh, was the King's natural son, by Lucy Walters, and born about ten years before the restoration. His character will be developed in the detail of succeeding events, in which he so conspicuously and actively distinguished himself.

1672. phant and popular war would justify his opinion of its expediency, and establish his power in the state ; for it is related, to his honour, that he was uninfluenced by French bribery, which had been more than once found successful in obtaining the suffrages of ministers necessary to be won. And whatever were his motives for subsequently taking what his biographers emphatically call a *short term*, they all agree in their tribute to his judicial merits as Chancellor, acquitting himself with prudence, candour, honour, and integrity, in the great and important transactions of Chancery.

It is probable that the elevation of Monmouth, at this time, opened to the intriguing spirit of Shaftesbury the use that might be made of him, and induced him to form a close union with a young nobleman, whose pliant temper and comparatively feeble understanding would render him the easy tool of his restless ambition. And when Monmouth, in consequence of a private aggression, quarrelled with the Duke of York,

Shaftesbury found, in the irritation and 1672.
 resentment it caused, powerful auxiliaries
 to his own influence over the mind of the
 Duke, and a foundation was thus laid for
 that irreconcilable animosity between Mon-
 mouth and the Duke of York, who was
 daily becoming more the object of popular
 hatred, while Monmouth himself rose, in
 proportion, the favourite of the Protestant
 party.

The prospect which these circumstances
 disclosed to a young and ardent mind,
 under the guidance of a daring ambition, was
 enticing, and completely laid open the mind
 of Monmouth to the influence of Shaftes-
 bury, rendering him the ready second in
 all his plans, and a willing listener to the
 flattering hopes he infused of his succession
 to the throne. Shaftesbury, on his part,
 saw, with the keen observation and fore-
 sight of a deep politician, the advantages
 to be derived from Monmouth's favour with
 the King, and his popularity with the
 public, while he knew himself secure in

1672. the devotion of Monmouth to his designs, as his dubious claims must oblige him to rest upon the arts of the minister to attain the objects of his ambition. For although Charles shewed every mark of favour towards Monmouth, he always rejected, with displeasure, every idea of making him his successor. But this did not check the designs of Shaftesbury, or stifle the hopes of Monmouth.

We now return from this digression, necessary to the understanding the events which followed, to the measures of the Council. War being concluded upon, public reasons for it were put forth, in a declaration, bearing date the 28th of March, 1672; and the next business was to provide money to carry it on. The Parliament met on the 14th of February, and the King desired supplies. It was on this day that Shaftesbury made that remarkable speech of which he was subsequently reminded when a refugee in the country to which he alluded in the sentence it contained. "*De-*

lenda est Carthago. The Dutch must be 1672.
extirpated; they are England's eternal enemy, by interest and inclination." The Parliament came to the resolution of granting the required supplies, but it was, that they might, in their turn, demand a redress of the grievances, of which they had to complain.

In the preceding session Charles had exercised his dispensing power, by putting forth a declaration for liberty of conscience, with due limitations for the preservation of the Church of England, as established by law, but the Roman Catholics were exempted only from the penal laws, and liberty granted for them to exercise their religion in their own houses.

The Commons opposed this measure, and addressed the King to revoke the declaration, and permit the laws to have free course. Charles replied, "he did not pretend to suspend any laws involving the rights and liberties of his people, or to alter

1672. any thing in the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, but only to remove the penalties from the Dissenters ;” but the Commons were not satisfied with this ambiguous answer, and, in a second address from both Houses, one more explicit was required, upon which he retracted his declaration. Shaftesbury observing the King to yield, was disgusted at his mutability, deserted his cause, and placed himself at the head of the popular party, declaring that, “ as the King deserted himself, he deserved to be deserted.” Arlington also joined the popular party in Parliament : Clifford retired in indignation to the country ; and thus was the Cabal broken up.

The popular party received Shaftesbury with joy, for his bold and energetic character well suited the game they had to play, while his deep and masterly policy could not fail to assist and extend the influence of the faction. The royal assent was given to the Test Act, which was followed by a grant of the required supplies. Shaftesbury was

called upon to resign the great seal, which 1672:
 was given to Sir Heneage Finch, the Attorney-General.

The circumstances attending the resignation display the disposition of Shaftesbury; and the good nature of Charles. "Shaftesbury" (says Mr. Scott, in his valuable and curious notes on Dryden), "delighted in an opportunity of teasing and alarming his enemies, even in the very act of retreating before them. When he attended the King, to surrender the seals, he observed a circle of his enemies in the anti-chamber, anticipating, with triumph, his returning from the presence, without the badges of his office. Upon obtaining his audience, the falling minister begged the King that his dismissal might be so arranged, as not to appear as if he was thrown off with contempt." "Gods fish," replied Charles, "I will not do it with any circumstance that looks like affront." The Earl then begged permission to carry the seals before the King to chapel, and return them afterwards

1679. from his house. His boon being granted, he carried on the conversation, with much humour, upon such gay subjects as usually entertained the King, while his adversaries, on the tenter hooks of anxiety, awaited the issue of so long an audience. But when they saw the King and the Chancellor come out together smiling, and go in company to the chapel, the party concluded Shaftesbury's peace was made, and his expected successor was inconsolable. After enjoying this little triumph, Shaftesbury gave up the seals in the manner he proposed.*

Though the judgment of the Duke of York was decidedly against entering into the war, before the authority of Charles was better fixed, which he believed it would have been by the fulfilment of the private treaty, yet, as it was determined upon, he spared no trouble in making the requisite preparations; and although several alterations had taken place in the Navy, without receiving his sanction, he suffered

* Scott's Note to Dryden's Poem of the Medal.

not his private feelings to affect his public 1672.
 duty in the present instance. The Council
 had proposed to lay an embargo on all
 outward bound ships, the better to man the
 fleet; but the Duke opposed this measure,
 as unnecessary, and engaged to effect the
 desired object, without having recourse to
 that which would be so injurious to the
 revenue, arising from the customs. The
 plan he proposed was to suspend, for one
 year, the Newfoundland trade, which would
 furnish sufficient hands for the ships he
 required, namely, sixty ships of the line
 and twenty fire-ships.*

The general rendezvous of the English
 and French fleets was at Saint Helen's, and
 the King visited the French fleet there,
 early in the spring, the French furnishing
 forty men of war. The Duke of York
 sailed from the Nore, with only forty ships

* Fire-ships. The Dutch wars were especially distinguished
 for the use of these destructive engines, now only employed
 against fleets in harbour, and seldom even then.

1672. of the line, and twelve fire-ships, having intelligence that de Ruyter, with seventy ships of the line, besides fire-ships, had put to sea, in order to prevent the junction of the two fleets.*

Towards the evening of the day upon which the Duke sailed he discovered the Dutch scouts, but from the haziness of the weather he was not able to discern the body of their fleet, and the gale blowing fresh he was obliged to come to anchor during the night. At break of day the signal was made for sailing, but the wind rising with a thick fog he passed de Ruyter without perceiving him, or being seen by him, thus providentially escaping an engagement on very unequal terms.

About noon the weather cleared, and the Duke continued his course somewhat to the

* Michael Adrien de Ruyter, a gallant and able commander, was born, 1607, chosen Lieutenant-Admiral of the States, in 1666, and died in 1676, being mortally wounded in an engagement with the French, in Sicily.

west of Dover, and early the next morning, 1672. May the 4th, succeeded in joining the French fleet at St. Helen's. De Ruyter entered Dover road two hours after the Duke had left it.* The Duke remained two days at St. Helen's, to adjust all things with the Count d'Estrees, commander of the French squadron, and then sailed, to look out for the Dutch fleet, and to join what remained of his own not in readiness when he left the Nore.

About ten in the morning of the 19th of May, he got sight of the Dutch, and, having the wind, bore down right upon them ; but being informed, by an old commander, Captain Haddock, that they were not far from a dangerous sand called the Rumble, and that it was evidently the intention of the Dutch to draw them upon it, the Duke took the necessary measures to ascertain the truth of Haddock's assertion respecting the

* According to Campbell, the Dutch fleet was seen off Dover, May the 9th, and on the 13th, a squadron of theirs chased some English ships under the cannon of Sheerness.

1672. sand, the existence of which was doubted by the less experienced navigators. Finding his account perfectly correct, he was convinced of the danger of attacking the enemy there, but when he came almost within cannon shot of them, he brought to, and stood in with them towards the coast of Flanders, both fleets tacking at the same time, and continuing within cannon-shot of each other.

A thick fog rose the next morning, and de Ruyter, upon its dispersion, appeared not disposed to engage so far from the banks. The Duke stood after him, but the gale freshening, prevented his engaging, and seeing de Ruyter avoid engaging also, he stood away to Southwold Bay, to take in water and provisions, which the hurry in which he had quitted port had not allowed the fleet to complete.

De Ruyter, at the same time, bore for his own coasts, and anchored off Goreé. De Ruyter was evidently cautious of engaging

in a battle upon the event of which the fate 1672.
of his country depended, for the conquests
of Louis on shore had reduced it to the
greatest difficulties.

When the Duke was come to an anchor
at Southwold Bay, he suffered such of his
ships of the line, and two or three fire-
ships, as most required water and provisions,
to anchor near the shore for the quicker
despatch. The wind was westerly when
this permission was granted, but he, at
the same time, declared his resolution, that
should it veer to the east, he should stand
farther out to sea, and anchor in order of
battle, to prevent being surprised. He had
also ordered that no colliers or trading ves-
sels should pass to the northward, lest they
should fall into the hands of the enemy.
Notwithstanding this order, however, a light
collier passed, was captured by a privateer,
and taken to de Ruyter ; who, learning
from it the situation of the fleet in the bay,
immediately summoned his different officers,
proposing that they should sail that night to

1672. surprise the Duke, the wind being fair to do it. Many objections were made to this gallant and decisive proposal, and de Ruyter, finding he could not prevail upon them to adopt his reasons, told them, "that being convinced it was for his master's *service* so to do, and being trusted by them with the command of the fleet, he was resolved to undertake it, and therefore ordered them to be ready to sail at the close of the evening; which accordingly was done.*

In the meanwhile, the Duke seeing the wind change to the east, summoned Sir John Cox, his captain, and ordered him to put in execution what had been resolved, viz. for the fleet to stand out, and be put in order of battle; but Sir John represented that there was not the slightest fear of a surprise. He confirmed his assertion, by stating that he had been informed by the master of a packet, and several other persons, that the Dutch were employed as they were, in watering and provisioning their fleet; there-

* Clarke.

fore he thought it would be far more prudent for the Duke to finish supplying the ships before any change was made. It had been well had the Duke decided for himself, as de Ruyter had done, but he suffered himself to be persuaded by the prudent Sir John, and consented that the fleet should remain as it was. So infatuated was Sir John, that the Dutch would not attempt to surprise them, that he actually, when the Duke was retired to rest, and without having asked his permission, "brought his ship on the careen to give her a pair of *boot-hose-tops* in order to her better sailing."

In this condition was the Duke at two o'clock of the morning of the 28th of May; when he first had intimation of the approach of the Dutch, and as soon as it was day the enemy bore down upon the English. In order to prevent, as much as possible, the confusion which this sudden surprise might produce, the Duke gave the most prudent and judicious orders, "That none who were about him were to trouble the officers of the

1672. ship with unnecessary questions, and that no man whatsoever should so much as name a fire-ship aloud ; that if they perceived any such a bearing down upon them, which neither he nor his officers saw, that they should whisper to himself or to the officer next to them.”

The engagement began between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, with all the fury of intrepid valour. De Ruyter, with his division, attacked the centre of the English fleet, commanded by the Duke of York, the Dutch having the wind. De Ruyter, after exchanging two broadsides with the Duke, thought to have brought the contest with him, at least, to a speedy termination, for he sent two fire-ships to board him.

Sir Edward Scott, who had served under the Duke in the army, and now attended him as a volunteer, first discovered these destructive engines, and gave notice of their approach, in a whisper, to Sir John Cox, who

stood next him. But scarcely had Sir John ^{1672,} began to give the necessary order in consequence, when he was struck dead by a shot, which, at the same moment, took off the head of a young volunteer. Sir Edward then addressed himself to the Duke, who instantly gave directions for the destruction of the fire-ships. For two hours the engagement was continued with such fury and activity, that the Dutch Admiral afterwards declared it to have been the most obstinate of thirty-two actions in which he had been engaged.

The Duke's ship, the Prince, became so disabled, that he was compelled to quit her ; her rigging and fighting sails being intirely shot away, and two hundred of her men either killed or wounded. But, to avoid all suspicion or confusion, he went between decks, as if to give orders, and from thence slipped into his boat, and went on board the St. Michael, upon which he hoisted his flag.

1672. The French meanwhile, standing away to the southward, were not much pressed by the Zealand squadron opposed to them, and the backwardness of the Dutch, on this occasion, diminished much of the reputation they had gained on former occasions.

As soon as the Duke was on board the *St. Michael*, he was obliged to tack, to avoid a dangerous sand off Lowstoffe, and stood to the southward, by which means he became mingled with the enemy. Soon after, however, a gentle gale sprung up, which cleared away the smoke, in which they were enveloped, and the Duke was enabled to make some observations. The first object he saw was the Earl of Sandwich's blue flag above the smoke, which was still too thick to render the ships themselves visible, and he immediately apprehended the cause. The Earl's division had been opposed to Von Ghent's, in a terrible contest. The *Royal James*, the Earl's ship, had destroyed three fire-ships, and just as she was retiring from the fight, in a disabled con-

dition, after the Dutch Admiral Von Ghent 1672. was slain, one of those terrible engines of destruction boarded her, and she blew up, without the possibility of rendering her any assistance. " This the Duke beheld with sorrow, but could not help, being to leeward of her, though he passed close by her, and saw the sea all covered with her men, some sinking, some swimming, and others buoying themselves up upon what they could next take hold of." Three hundred of the men only were saved, among which number was the Captain Haddock who had warned him of the Rumble sand ; also a young man named Lowd, a servant of the Earl of Sandwich. On the arrival of this young man in London, the King appointed him as Page of the Bedchamber. The Earl himself unfortunately perished, but his body was afterwards found, and conveyed to Deptford, and thence, with great pomp, by water, to Westminster Abbey, where his remains were deposited in Henry the Seventh's chapel. His funeral rites were per-

1672. formed at the charge of the King, in consideration of his many eminent services.”

The St. Michael had received so many shots, that she became leaky ; but, although she had five feet water in the hold, she was with so much activity repaired, that she never forbore her fire. Von Ghent's squadron bore down upon the Duke, evidently with the view of pressing him close, but suddenly they brought-to again, and contented themselves with plying their great guns, the reason of which was afterwards found to be, that their captain was killed at the time, and his successor had not resolution to follow up what the first had gallantly began. Although the St. Michael was again filling, she, at last, came within musket-shot of the Dutch, and, as she passed the Vice-Admiral's second, some on board cried out not to fire, for she had struck. The Duke, however, seeing by her manner of sailing that this was a mistake, poured his broadside into her, raking her fore and aft.

The Duke's ship now became so disabled 1672. that she could no longer keep the line, and he found if her leaks were not immediately repaired she could not be kept above water. He resolved, therefore, to go on board the London, at the same time ordering Sir Robert Holmes not to strike the standard of the St. Michael, nor bear away from the line till the standard was raised on board the London, lest his fleet should be discouraged. It was three quarters of an hour before his boat reached the London, which he found also in such a disabled condition as to be unequal to any action, although one was threatened by a Dutch ship, but was fortunately prevented by de Ruyter making the signal to his ships to bear away to the Zealand squadron. It was now about seven in the evening, and the engagement had continued unceasingly through the day.

As the enemy was bearing away, Captain Story, of the Rainbow, an old second rate, obliged de Ruyter to bring-to, and stand out a-head of him. Sir John Jordan also

1672. joined the Duke, who had now five and twenty or thirty ships to windward of the enemy at sun-set. The rest of the fleet bore away, as de Ruyter did, and joined the French, getting to leeward of the Dutch, but the Duke remained, as he was, just to windward of the enemy, who were now all collected together.

Such was the situation of the several fleets at the close of this memorable day, in which the Dutch, with every advantage over their enemy, so far from being victorious, were the first to leave the sea. This engagement was remarkable for many gallant actions on both sides: and amongst those which distinguished the British seamen, were the following which deserve particular mention. The ship Catharine was taken by the Dutch, but retaken by the resolute conduct of her own crew. Captain Westgate, of the Edgar, cleared himself of two fire-ships, after his mainsail was on fire, and seventy of his men had leapt overboard. The Henry, Captain Digby, after having put off six fire-ships,

the Captain and Lieutenant being killed, 1672. was boarded by a Dutchman of seventy guns, but was released by the bravery of her own seamen.

The night was employed by the contending fleets in refitting the ships, it being the Duke's resolve to renew the fight in the morning. In the middle of the night a ship on fire was seen among the Dutch, which proved to be one of their own, so much disabled, that after having unmanned, destroyed her.

The Duke next morning rejoined the rest of his fleet, and returned on board his own ship, the Prince, she having been refitted. He then summoned a council of his flag officers, in which it was resolved that the fleet must of necessity return to Sheerness, in order to be repaired.

Scarcely had the officers returned to their respective ships, to await the Admiral's signal to sail, than the enemy was seen

1672, standing after them. The Duke instantly made the signal for the fleet to form in order of battle, which was as promptly obeyed, and in good order, the English stood in for the Dutch, having the wind. By the time they had reached the middle of the enemies line, de Ruyter made the signal for the van of his fleet to tack, and stand away for their own coast. The Duke seeing this, made the signal for engaging, and bore down upon the Dutch, being not above half a cannon shot to windward of them. The enemy, seeing his intention, avoided receiving him, or making a regular retreat, but made all the sail they could, without staying even to secure their disabled ships, of which there were fifteen. Every thing, in short, seemed favourable to the Duke to effect a signal victory, when Providence ordered it otherwise. "For, at the very moment when things were in this condition, from a clear sunshiny day, there fell, all of a sudden, so thick a fog that nobody could see the length of the ship before him." The Duke seeing it coming on, took in the

signal (a red flag on the fore-top-mast head) 1672
 and brought to. The fog continued an hour, and when it cleared the Duke again raised the *bloody flag* and bore down to engage, but was again prevented by the state of the weather. When able, however; he pursued the Dutch, but they getting in among their banks, whither it was not advisable to follow them, the Duke found it requisite to tack about and make the best of his way to the Nore, in order to refit. In this great engagement the French lost their Rear-Admiral, M. de la Rabiniere; the Dutch, Admiral Von Ghent; and England, the Earl of Sandwich*

* The authority of the Stuart Papers, as detailed by Dr. Clarke, has alone been consulted in the foregoing sketch of this memorable engagement; and it certainly is rather a partial picture of it: as, for instance, the safety of the French fleet is attributed to the backwardness of the Zealand squadron to engage. It rather may be ascribed to the French avoiding the action, as much as possible, which in this, and other actions during the war, was very apparent; and Hume observes, "that as this backwardness is not their natural character, it is supposed they had secret orders to spare their ships, while the Dutch and English should weaken each other by their mutual animosity." The same historian informs us that the Earl of

1672. It was the close of June ere the fleet was refitted, at which time the King visited the Duke, at the Nore, to consult with him how to proceed, and to examine the state of the fleet. The Duke proposed sailing directly to the Weelings, where de Ruyter then was, either to fight him there, or compel him to go in. But Shaftesbury, and some others, who had accompanied the King, persuaded him it would be more for his honour and service to endeavour to intercept the Dutch East India fleet, which they said was daily expected in by the north of Scotland. This was strongly objected to by the Duke and his officers, as inadvisable and dangerous, it being their opinion

Sandwich might have avoided his dreadful fate, but a sense of wounded honour induced him to embrace death, as a shelter from the ignominy which a rash expression of the Duke of York he imagined had affixed to him. He had given, it is said, intimation of the approach of de Ruyter, while the fleets lay in a very careless manner, in Solebay, and warned the Duke of his danger, but received such an answer that intimated there was more of caution than of courage in his apprehensions. With the consciousness of having thus unguardedly wounded a noble mind, how painful must the view of his fate have been to the Duke of York.

that to obtain the East India fleet they must first beat or drive in de Ruyter's, for while it remained at sea it would be most hazardous to scatter the English ships, as they necessarily must be in the proposed expedition, lest the enemy should suddenly attack them when unprepared.

It is a powerful instance of the ascendancy which Shaftesbury and his colleagues at this time had obtained over the mind of Charles, that the reasons of his brother and his officers were overruled by him and his Cabinet Council. The consequence was, that the Duke and his officers were under the mortifying necessity of acting in opposition to their own judgment, and were compelled, either to give up their commands, or obey their orders to cruise in the most likely station to meet with, and intercept the India fleet.

The Duke, in pursuance of these orders, put to sea again, and cruised near the Texel, but bad weather coming on he was obliged

1672. to anchor, during a fortnight, with his yards and topmasts down. He then changed his station, and cruised towards the Dogger Bank, for the greater facility of anchoring, should the weather render it necessary, keeping his fleet together, and sending out cruisers to reconnoitre. The Cambridge, and another frigate sent out for this purpose, met with the Dutch East India fleet, one of which the Cambridge boarded, but the sea was so high she could not master her, but was obliged to sheer off. The fury of the storm increasing, she was unable to keep in view of the Dutch, nor could she inform the fleet. In consequence they passed safely by, and put into the Ems. The Duke, thus missing his object, returned to the English coast, and, in Burlington Bay, put on shore three thousand sick men, who, from confinement and bad weather, were dreadfully afflicted by the scurvy.

After having refreshed in the bay, he returned to the Nore, and there the King, attended by Prince Rupert, Shaftesbury,

and some other of the Cabinet Council, ^{d.} 1679. again visited him. Prince Rupert and Shaftesbury had privately urged the King to send the fleet out again, and fight de Ruyter: of this counsel the Duke had information; he therefore was prepared with his objections, in which all his experienced officers had concurred; the principal one was the advance of the season which would preclude any thing of importance being done, rendering the event extremely hazardous. The King was persuaded to yield to the reasons they unanimously gave, and the ships were ordered to be laid up, and operations were concluded for the season. It was after the Duke's return from this expedition, that Shaftesbury was made Chancellor; this political change produced another: the Earl having been one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, which situation was of course vacated.

The Duke thought his Majesty appeared inclined to have a Lord Treasurer, and he requested Arlington to second him in pro-

1682. posing the Lord Clifford for that honourable employment ; Arlington, however, appeared very cold upon the subject, telling the Duke, the King had no wish or intention of having any alteration in the Treasury ; and the following day Arlington employed a friend to urge the Duke to use his interest to get Sir Robert Carr appointed as a Commissioner in the place of Shaftesbury.*

* As Shaftesbury will no more appear, we will take our leave of him by adding, that, freed from the accusation of high treason, he continued to operate plans against the Government, which became the more violent in proportion to the increasing ascendancy of the crown, until open force seemed the only means left to effect his political intrigues. He, at length, found it necessary to retreat into obscurity, from whence he urged his associates to take up arms, which, from the discordancy of their views, was protracted till the patience of this restless man was exhausted, after a violent effort to effect a rising, he was compelled to quit the kingdom. He was received at Amsterdam, 1682, and enrolled amongst the citizens to prevent any claims of the English Government for his person. Here, while pondering upon the past, and probably adjusting schemes for the future, he was seized with the gout in his stomach, and expired on the 21st of January, 1682-3.—The slight mention made of this Nobleman in the foregoing pages is sufficient to shew he possessed the most eminent abilities ; but that they were sullied and debased by an inordinate ambition, which brought its own punishment, in obliging him to become an exile, and in the disappointment of all those plans, in forming which, he had sacrificed his integrity and his tranquillity.

Some few days after, the Duke himself proposed to the King to appoint the Lord Clifford, which the King readily agreed to, saying he thought him well qualified; he also told the Duke that Arlington had wanted it for himself, but that he had plainly told him that he had too much kindness for him to consent to his request, as he knew he was not fit for it. Subsequently the King told his brother, that Arlington was much offended with Clifford, because he had got the appointment, desiring the Duke to persuade Arlington not to suffer the world to see his discontent, and to endeavour to make peace between the rival statesmen. This the Duke endeavoured to do, and they each promised fair; but Arlington kept not his word, but was ever after cold, and Clifford's secret enemy.

On the approach of Christmas, the King desired the Lords Arundel and Clifford to persuade the Duke to receive the sacrament with him, in the Church of England form, (which the Duke had not done for several

1672. months, adding, that they must endeavour to make his brothers sensible, that, by forbearing, he was giving the world reason for its prejudice against him. These noblemen promised obedience to the King's wishes, but at the same time said they were very sure that it would avail nothing to name the subject to the Duke, neither did they think that his compliance would have power to remove the existing prejudices against him, but rather to increase them, by giving an ill opinion of his Christian principles, to receive in one church, being at the same time, of another. They, however, spoke to the Duke, representing that he might allay the tempest which was rising by this outward conformity, but they could not prevail, receiving only this answer to their arguments, "My principles do not suffer me to dissemble my religion after that manner, and I cannot obtain of myself to do evil, that good may come of it."*

* It is curious to remark, that while the Duke was so scrupulous in the public avowal of his religious principles, he was, (if we may credit contemporary writers, particularly the lively Gram-

This open avowal of the Duke's sentiments 1672.
 was most favourable to the designs of the Protestant party, giving them a fair opportunity of further exercising their purposes against him, which, under the plea of securing the Protestant religion, they were enabled to effect. With this view the Test Act was passed in Parliament, which, as it enacted, "that no person should be capable of any employment, civil or military, that did not take or make the said test or declaration," at once struck the staff of High Treasurer from the hands of Lord Clifford, and that of Lord High Admiral from the Duke of York, as no Roman Catholic could, in conscience, take or make it. They also secretly encouraged the Duke of Monmouth

mont), allowing himself full licence in the pleasures which distinguished the licentious Court of Charles. He was even the rival of Grammont himself for the affection of the lovely Elizabeth Hamilton; and a tribe of other beauties, also seem to have disturbed the tranquillity of the devotee, who, in the observance of forms, found means to lull his conscience for the violation of those precepts of the religion he professed, which have for their object the regulating the affections, and the necessity of self-denial.

1673. with hopes of succeeding to the crown, pretending to have it in their power to prove his legitimacy ; a report which was received with enthusiasm by the people, whose horror of popery was strong and genuine, and with whom Monmouth was extremely popular.*

Deluded by their dazzling visions of ambition, the partisans of Monmouth thought it would be no difficult matter to persuade the King to favour the pretensions of a young man, for whom he evinced the most marked partiality, and upon whom he conferred the most signal proofs of his favour. They believed this partiality might be improved into a preference to the Duke of

* Monmouth's courtesy, activity, and personal beauty, made him the idol of the common people: he was called their beloved Protestant Prince. " Nature, (says the Count Hamilton), " perhaps, never formed any thing so perfect as the graces of his person. His face was beautiful, but it was a masculine beauty, unmix'd with any thing weak or effeminate ; each feature had its own peculiar and interesting turn of expression. He had admirable address in all active exercises, an attractive manner, and an air of princely majesty."

York, whose stern unbending character, 1672. and imprudent bigotry was likely, to involve the King, himself, and the nation into so much confusion and trouble, but in these surmises they deceived themselves.

The Duke, in consequence of the Test Act, resigned the command of the fleet, which was given to Prince Rupert;* and in the expedition of the ensuing summer, several engagements occurred, between the contending fleets, without any considerable loss or advantage on either side. The Parliament, however, being bent upon a peace with the Dutch, it was concluded the following winter. The constancy of the Duke

* A contemporary writer thus describes Prince Rupert:—"He was known" (says he) to all the world, as brave and courageous, even to rashness, but morose and incorrigibly obstinate. His genius was fertile in mathematical experiments, and he possessed some knowledge of chemistry. He was polite to excess, and that often unseasonably; but haughty, and even brutal, when he ought to be gentle and courteous. He was tall, and his manners were ungracious. He had a dry, hard-favoured visage, and a stern look, even when he wished to please, but when out of humour, he was the picture of discord.

1672. perplexed the King very much. Charles certainly loved his brother, and he could not but see the dangers he was incurring, and how difficult it would be to support him against the Parliament, whose measures were firm, and intentions evident.

While the events we have related were passing in England, the ambitious projects of the French King succeeded in distressing the States by an irruption into Holland, and so rapid was the progress of the invader, that the Dutch were nearly paralysed with astonishment and dismay. De Wit was compelled, reluctantly, to place the small army of the Republic under the command of the Prince of Orange, who, although possessed of prudence beyond his age, was, from inexperience, but a very feeble adversary to the successful and vaunting foe. He was obliged to retire into the province of Holland, where he hoped, from the nature of the country, to be able to make resistance. But Louis entered Utrecht in triumph, the Duke of Monmouth, with the

English auxiliaries, then being before it. 1672. After its surrender to the French, Louis kept a splendid Court there, to shew his triumph over the subjugated people. Three provinces were in his possession ; Holland and Zealand were now the objects of his ambition, and he deliberated upon the proper means of reducing them. Meanwhile the disasters of the war were ascribed to those ministers who had been considered as the saviours of their country, and the objects of popular favour. Confidence was exchanged for suspicion and rage. The former connections of de Wit with France were recollected, and the deluded people were led to believe that there was now a combination to betray them into the power of their oppressor. The Prince of Orange rose in public estimation, as the ministers declined ; and he justified their confidence by an act worthy of a great and freeborn mind.

To stem the overwhelming progress of the Invader, he broke up the Dykes, and

1672. laid the country under water, thus preferring ruin to slavery, and thus restoring to the sea, those fertile fields, which, with so much art and expence, had been won from the mighty element. The States assembled, and although they were enabled to deliberate without fear of interruption by the foe, yet the terror of his power was impressed upon their minds, and it was resolved to send ambassadors to treat with him upon the most humiliating terms. The answer of Louis was such as might be expected,—the Provinces were to become tributary, and subject to his dominion in every way; he was also to be paid twenty millions of livres for the expences of the war.

The Ambassadors sent to England, met with a still worse reception. No minister was allowed to treat with them. Yet, although the fear of offending France, had urged Charles to treat with indignity the Ambassadors from Holland, he saw with suspicion and uneasiness, the rapid successes of the French, he could not, but see

(little prospective as were his views in general) the obvious result of the States being subjugated to the dominion of France, and he felt considerable anxiety when he found every thing yielding to the French arms. He dismissed the Dutch Ambassadors, fearing their influence with the people, but sent over Buckingham and Arlington, and afterwards Lord Halifax, to negotiate with the French King, according to the present prosperous situation of his affairs, but they returned without effecting any thing: in fact, the terms proposed by Louis bereaved the Republic of all security against invasion by land from France, and those demanded by Charles exposed them equally to invasion by sea from England; united, they were so intolerable, that they reduced the oppressed Hollanders to despair. Their feelings were vented upon the unfortunate Ministers, John and Cornelius de Wit; and an insurrection at Dort was the signal of a general revolt. The people flew to arms, trampled under foot all authority, and obliged the magistrates to submit to the Prince of Orange, who was

1672. made Stadtholder and Captain-General, and the Grand Pensionary with his brother, the former of whom had so long governed the affairs of the United Provinces, were torn to pieces by the infuriated mob. This massacre of the virtuous de Wit, and his brother, appeased the minds of the people, and all, from the mingled feelings of fear, prudence, and inclination, agreed in obedience to the Prince, whose firm and judicious conduct justified the confidence reposed in him. He encouraged them to resist, by unanimity, the encroachments of the enemy; to reject, with scorn, the humiliating conditions offered to purchase peace. "He professed himself ready to tread in the steps of his illustrious ancestors, desiring only that his people would second his efforts with the same constancy and manly fortitude as their fathers had shown to his predecessors. The spirit of the young Prince infused itself into his hearers;" they no longer thought of bending their necks in subjection, but bravely resolved to resist the haughty victor, and determined, with their heroic

Prince, never to see their country's ruin: 1672. and such was the vigour with which these resolutions were followed up, that ere the conclusion of the year 1673, Louis was obliged to recall his forces, and to abandon his conquests with as great rapidity as he had made them.

A treaty of peace was set on foot at Cologne, between the contending powers, but the demands being such as must have proved ruinous to the Dutch, it broke up without effecting any thing. In August, 1673, Prince Rupert gained a victory over the Dutch, but it was rendered less complete by the want of proper co-operation on the part of the French.

In this battle Sir Edward Spragge, Admiral of the Blue, was killed, after having greatly distinguished himself. Had the French behaved properly, this would have been a decisive victory.

BOOK IV.

From 1673 to 1684 inclusive.

1673. SO far was Charles from entering into the views of Monmouth and his partisans, or inclined to alter the order of succession, that he himself proposed to the Duke a second union, and named, as a suitable Princess, Mary d'Esté, of the house of Modena, then in alliance with France; and the Duke yielding to his wishes, Lord Peterborough was constituted the agent in this delicate mission, to demand the young Princess of her mother, then Regent, (the Duke of Modena, her son, being under age.) "It was with no little difficulty that the young Princess consented to the union, she being but fifteen years of age, and so innocently brought up, that till then, she had

never heard of such a place as England, 1672. nor of such a person as the Duke of York."

Besides she had desired to become a Nun, insomuch that the Duchess, her mother, was obliged to request his Holiness the Pope to write to the young lady, and he persuaded her, that a compliance with her mother's desire would be most conducive to the service of God, and the public good. The articles were accordingly concluded, and Lord Peterborough married the Princess as proxy.

The period was now arrived that opened a series of contentions between the King and his Parliament, which his unpopular measures had provoked and irritated. Day after day jealousies of the Monarch, and hatred of the Duke of York increased, and it is impossible but they must have seen the confusion and trouble which must ensue from the excitement of the people, and the apprehensions of the Parliament. But it is as justly as beautifully remarked, by that eminent writer, Hume, "There is a sophis-

1673. try attends all the passions," which blinds the actors from the consequences of their excitement ; hence it was that Charles and his brother suspected not the power of the tempest, till it was so far advanced as to threaten their destruction.

The alarm of the Parliament was much augmented by the negotiation with a Catholic Princess, closely connected politically with France, and greatly added to the other grounds of discontent. They strongly remonstrated against the marriage, although it had been already celebrated by proxy, proposing even the humiliating plan of stopping the Duchess in her way to England, in order to prevent so inexpedient an union. The King replied, their objections came too late, as the negotiation was advanced beyond the possibility of receding.

The Commons, highly displeased, and finding they could not prevent this unwished union, turned their attention to the manifest existing grievances, and the misconduct of

the Ministers, to whose evil counsel they 1674. were ascribed ; and they resolved to grant no supplies till they were secured against popery, and popish counsellors. To obviate attacks he was neither prepared nor disposed to answer, Charles prorogued the Parliament, a measure he executed so suddenly, that he took them by surprise. The Duke's marriage was now concluded, Feb. 1674, but the King's necessities would not allow a very long cessation of parliamentary business, while, during the recess, every means were used by the popular party, to keep alive the dread of popery among the people. So powerful was this dread, that the friends of the Duke of York advised him to withdraw himself, for a time, from public life, in order that the King might better conciliate his Parliament, " and the Duke might, in retirement, *hunt and pray* without offence to any, or disquiet to himself.*" But this advice the Duke rejected, not at

* The lively Grammont informs us that the Duke's favourite exercise was hunting, that diversion employing one part of the day, and he generally came home much fatigued ; on these oc-

1674, all entering into the reasons assigned. He declared, that unless his Majesty should command him to the contrary, he would always attend him, and render him every service in his power, to which duty and honour obliged him, and wherein the King's and his own security were involved : that he feared not his enemies, and would never give them the advantage of injuring him, without being on the spot to repel their attacks.

It was in February of this year that the peace was concluded with the States, which had been ineffectually attempted at Cologne. The Parliament, who had so eagerly desired the war, were not less pleased at the peace, and Charles hoped it would render them more tractable ; but so deep seated was their

casions (he adds) Miss Hamilton's presence revived him, when he found her either with the Queen or the Duchess. The latter was not at all alarmed at his amusing himself with this passion, on the contrary, her Royal Highness had an affection for Miss Hamilton, and never treated her more graciously than on such occasions.

disgust, and so lively their fears, that they ^{1674.} still thought themselves insecure. A second test, of a more rigorous nature, was proposed. It was to contain the renunciation of many more tenets in which the Catholic Church differs from the Protestant, and it also enacted that none should come into the King's presence who did not take the said test, without the permission of six Privy Counsellors, to be given in writing, and sanctioned with their signature. This test was carried by vote in the House of Commons, October the 30th, but the Duke's friends, and the loyal party, had interest sufficient to obtain a majority of *two votes* only, to have a proviso added to the bill, of exception for the Duke's person. This greatly displeased the wily Shaftesbury, who had been the principal projector of the bill, but which he declared, *with the proviso*, was worthless in his estimation.* But the

* " With great earnestness, and even tears in his eyes, he (the Duke) told them that he was now to cast himself on their kindness, in the greatest concern he could have in the world; and he protested that whatever his religion might be, it should only

1674. greatest alarm given to the Court party arose from the complaints against the Ministers. These complaints were heavy against Lauderdale, to whose pernicious counsel all the evils which pressed upon the nation were attributed. Buckingham and Arlington also were examined before the bar of the House, as to the advice they had given in the Privy Council ; and Arlington was impeached.

Charles, though obliged to make a separate peace, in order to conciliate his people, whom he now distrusted more than ever, still kept up connections with France, and had apologized to Louis for the measures to which his difficulties had compelled him : these apologies had been accepted by Louis, and the necessity of Charles's conduct

be a private thing between God and his own conscience; and never should appear in his outward conduct. *(Hume.)* The result proved an indication of the sentiments of the people on this subject, and after events gave the negative to the professions of the Duke.

allowed, The Duke also conscious how ^{1675.} obnoxious he was become to the people, maintained a separate correspondence with the French Court, but in no view such as to involve his duty as a subject, or his affection as a brother ; his only objects were to secure his succession, and to favour the Catholics.

Things in the meanwhile were ripening for the Exclusion Bill, at the meeting of Parliament. The King was prevailed upon to issue proclamations, against all non-conformists, and particularly against the Catholics ; and in January, 1675, Danby, (who had been appointed Lord Treasurer,) and the Duke of Lauderdale, waited upon the Duke of York, as they said, from the King, to inform him the bishops intended to propose to his Majesty that the laws might be put in execution against all Dissenters, particularly the Roman Catholics ; and further, that the English priests must be removed from their attendance on the Queen, and that the King's natural daughters, as well as his

1676. sons, must be educated in the Church of England form. They then endeavoured to persuade the Duke to concur in these circumstances, as requisite for the King's service, and the good of the nation. But the Duke told them he could not accede to what he considered a dangerous measure, as tending to exasperate so large a body of men as the Protestant Non-conformists; "and, as for the Catholics, he looked upon it, that it would be a hard thing for his Majesty to shew any new severity against them, who had ventured their lives, and fortunes for him, and his father," particularly as they had already been deprived of the power of injuring, by being incapacitated from having any important employment, civil or military. As to the other articles the Duke added, he had no concern in them, and therefore wished to close the conference. The Duke immediately waited upon the King, and related what had passed, endeavouring to dissuade him from such injudicious severity; but he found the King resolved, and his arguments were unavailing.

Amongst the other plans of these ministers 1673. to conciliate the Parliament, they projected an union between the Princess Mary, the Duke's eldest daughter, and the Prince of Orange, to which the King most readily listened and promised his concurrence; for he hoped, by a measure so popular, to recover the favour and confidence which he and his brother had lost. He saw the discontents which prevailed every day augment, and, desirous to free himself from the trouble and chagrin they occasioned him, he was ready to embrace any expedient which would relieve him, as it was not his custom to look to consequences if he could obtain present advantages. He began to apprehend also the influence of the Prince of Orange over his people, for that Prince had formed a regular party in the kingdom, scarcely needing to court the favour of men who in the cause of both countries received him with open arms.

To the people of his own country, not to the nobility, the Prince had owed his eleva-

tion; hence a sympathy was excited for him in the popular parties of both countries: the interest of religion, too, had cemented the union, and even private affection had strengthened and drawn closer the mutual ties of interest; for many officers, when the army had been disbanded, had retired to Holland and entered into the political councils of their adopted country; and kept up a correspondence with their connexions in England, holding similar sentiments.

The Prince had, in 1674, declined an union with the Duke of York's daughter, but now he wished it to take place, either to close the increasing divisions of party, or to render them conducive to his own advantage. The only difficulty, therefore, now seemed to be the Duke's consent, which, it was apprehended, would be no easy matter, but it was agreed by the King, and his council, that he should be sounded upon the point.

Charles had seen, with more concern than he usually felt, the animosity of the people

against his brother; but he certainly pos- 1675.
 sessed an awe of the Duke which made him
 rather apprehensive of his opinion, it likely
 to clash with his own. He saw numberless
 advantages in this union with the Prince of
 Orange, which he believed would fix him
 to his interest, and he purposed to make
 such a peace as should satisfy and preserve
 his connexions with France. All these san-
 guine hopes were strengthened and sanc-
 tioned by the solicitations and opinions of
 the Lord Treasurer, and the accomplished
 Sir William Temple. It remained only, there-
 fore, to ascertain the sentiments of the
 Duke, and Charles undertook the task. He
 avoided coming to the point at once, but
 began the subject, by proposing to the Duke
 to send Arlington to Holland, to sound the
 Prince upon his intentions respecting peace
 or war. The Duke, surprised at this pro-
 posal, replied, that business would surely
 with more propriety be transacted by Sir
 William Temple, his Ambassador, for, by
 sending one of his principal ministers, the
 King would rouse the jealousy of France.

1675. Besides, he added, Lord Arlington was so partial to the Prince of Orange that it might be doubted if he would make a true report of affairs; and surely his Majesty must see that by sending Lord Arlington it would appear as if he were courting the favour of the Prince, a thing too degrading to be thought of; Charles, however, being pre-resolved, of course listened to no argument against his projected plan, and closed the interview without coming to the material point to which it was intended to be introductory. Two days after this, he renewed the subject, telling the Duke he designed to send Lord Ossory with Arlington, "to say something, if need were, which he knew the Duke would not be glad that Lord Arlington should have any thing to do with," and this was, that if the Prince should inquire what advantage he should receive, if he did consent to peace, Lord Ossory might inform him he might hope to espouse the Princess Mary, and that his addresses would be well received. Thus courteously and artfully did Charles open this

important affair. The Duke was much startled at the explanation, and the sudden proposal of disposing of his daughter, in a quarter he had not suspected, and to find it had been discussed without his previous concurrence. He warmly represented to the King the impropriety and indelicacy of proposing such a thing to the Prince, who ought rather to have sought it. Moreover to enter into such a treaty, before a peace was concluded, could only raise the jealousy of France, and be injurious to the honour and interest of the King himself. To which the King replied, "it was not intended to enter into any treaty before a peace was concluded, but the hope was to be held up to effect that desired object; and to satisfy the scruples of the Duke respecting the propriety of the affair, he could assure him, the wish for the union had *first* been expressed by the Prince." The Duke seeing his brother resolved, at length yielded a reluctant consent, which repugnance was justified by the subsequent journey and negotiation, "for the overtures and proposals

1675. were as coldly received by the Prince as they had been unwillingly consented to by the Duke."

About this time the Bishop of London, Dr. Compton,* a zealous Protestant, visited the Duke, to obtain his consent to confirm the Princess Mary, in order to prepare her for receiving the sacrament, according to the form of the Church of England. The Duke replied, that "his own conscience not permitting him to communicate in that form, he could not consent that his daughters should; that it was even much against his will that they were brought up Protestants, and nothing but the fear of being entirely deprived of their society had deterred him from having them instructed in

* Compton, Bishop of London, had been a soldier until he was upwards of thirty years of age, when he exchanged the sword for the gown. Barnet describes him as a great hater of popery, and exact in performing the duties of his diocese, but unlearned, weak, and wilful. He was much at the devotion of the Earl of Danby, who had early assisted him with his patronage. Although the Duke of York much disliked Compton, yet the charge of the education of the Princesses Mary and Anne devolved on him.

the faith which he himself professed." The 1575.
 Bishop then said, "he hoped the Duke would not be offended with him if he did what he conceived was his duty, by confirming the Princess Mary." To which the Duke only laconically replied, "he could not consent to it," and the interview ended,

The following day, the Duke seeing the Bishop, told him he would do well to inform the King of what had passed, to which the Bishop replied, "he was in fact going to wait upon the Duke to ask his permission to do as he suggested." He accordingly repaired to the King, and received his commands to confirm his niece. This the Duke had anticipated, for he knew the Bishop's zealous disposition, and had referred him to the King, and it not being in his power to prevent the ceremony, he preferred the appearance of yielding to the King's command, rather than to the Bishop's authority; and the more so, as the world might see that it was obedience to the King as a subject, and not the consent of his own will.

1677. On the 15th of February the Parliament met, and the King advised them to avoid all occasions of dissension, and to unite in providing for the maintenance of the naval strength, and to supply the means to meet the exigencies of the state, assuring them he should agree in whatever they should propose for the security of their religion and property.

The Duke of Buckingham, in a long speech, endeavoured to shew, that the present sitting was illegal, the Parliament having, in fact, been dissolved by the last prorogation having exceeded a year. Shaftesbury, the Earl of Salisbury, and Wharton, also insisted strenuously, that from the invalidity of the Parliament, every act of it must be null and ineffectual. For such dangerous opinions and frivolous doubts they were sent to the Tower for the contempt of the authority, and being of the Parliament then assembled. Buckingham, Salisbury, and Wharton, upon making submission, were soon after released ; but

the more obstinate Shaftesbury, who thought 1677. to distinguish himself by his adherence to liberty of opinion; and to increase his popularity, by apparently suffering from unjust authority, remained twelve months imprisoned.

The Commons seemed to proceed with temper and firmness; they voted supplies for the navy, and other business went on peaceably, when news from abroad infused new terrors, and destroyed the tranquillity which had marked the session.

The French King had been very successful in an early campaign in Flanders, and the English Parliament, alarmed at the dangers which were to be apprehended from the growing power of France, addressed his Majesty, advising him to form alliances for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands, and thereby quiet their just fears, promising him suitable supplies in case of a rupture with France. The King endeavoured to elude the application, reply-

1677. ing, in general terms, that every thing should be done to preserve Flanders. But the Parliament were not to be satisfied with this evasive answer; they desired one more decisive. His Majesty replied, that "the only way to prevent danger, was to supply him with the means to make the proper preparations, and that unless they supplied him with six hundred thousand pounds, it would be impossible for him to follow the advice of their addresses; and, before they came to any resolution, he *engaged his royal word* that they might trust him with so large a sum. But the distrust of the Parliament was invincible; and they resolved, after much deliberation, not to grant him the money, in expectation of alliances which they suspected would never be formed. Instead, therefore, of granting the required supply, they adjourned to the 21st of May, when it again met, and the King related the necessity of granting supplies before he ventured to irritate France by a compliance with their addresses. This was followed by an address from the Commons, that the

King would enter into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the States General, against the growing power of the French King, and for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands; adding, that they would grant no supplies till such alliance with the States and other powers should be formed. The King highly resented this address, presumptuously and dangerously, (as he said), encroaching upon his prerogative of making peace and war, and not only requiring him to form alliances, but also presuming to dictate to him what alliances they were to be. In great resentment he directed their adjournment to the 16th of June.*

* The secret memoirs of this reign, contained in the letters of the Earl of Danby and Montague, the English Ambassador at Paris; and Temple's letters and memoirs, prove the insincerity of Charles, that he had, at the very time he was asking supplies from his Parliament, concerted measures with France, and had no intention of forming alliances. His *royal word* was therefore a mere pretext for raising money; and a man who could descend to an act so dishonourable and mean, would never be at a loss for pretences for palliating his conduct. Dalrymple even asserts that he had obtained a pension from France, on his promise of neutrality, but promises were not likely to be binding upon a conscience which could systematically deceive a generous people.

1677: In June, 1677, the Prince of Orange sent a gentlemen, named Bentinck, to England, with great professions of duty and service to the King and the Duke, with the assurances that he would follow the counsel of his Majesty in regard to peace or war, but that he hoped his Majesty would be mindful of his honour, and not propose any measure derogatory to it. The same professions of respect were made to the Duke, who replied, that "he should always entertain that kindness for his nephew which both his own merit and the interest and union of the royal family required from him. As to the question of war, the Duke added, the Prince must not regard the unwillingness of the King to enter into it, as proceeding from any cause but a regard to self preservation, for absolute ruin must follow to the royal family were he to embark in any contest under present circumstances." With empty magazines, a fleet in bad condition, and his Parliament in such a state of hostility, that all that could be thought of was to preserve some degree of

internal tranquillity, of this the Prince 1677. might have seen a recent proof, in the attempt of the House of Commons to invade the prerogative of the King, in points so essential as peace and war. And an engagement in a foreign contest, he continued, would therefore be an act of madness, as it could not be maintained with vigour, and would give every opportunity for the intrigues of the republican party at home.

It is interesting to trace the complex intrigues of ambition, as laid open in the page of history, now the actors in the deep schemes of policy are gone "to that bourne from whence no traveller returns." The infringement of the factious party upon the royal prerogative, in regard to the Parliament, was but a part of their tissue of intrigues to attain increase of influence and power.

To obtain the concurrence of the people in their reasons, and to infuse doubts of

1677. the validity of the acts of the Parliament, they had printed and dispersed a state of the case, with the grounds of their opinions of the illegality of the sitting Parliament. Shaftesbury had sent some of these papers to the Duke, endeavouring, if possible, to obtain his concurrence in the arguments. To one of these papers there was a clause added, affirming that Parliament had power to alter the succession: and that this might not alienate the Duke, whom Shaftesbury hoped to win to embrace their opinion, he assured his Highness that that clause was inserted without his knowledge: Wharton also sent the same excuse, adding, "that the lawyer whom they had employed had put it in without their orders." Buckingham assured the Duke that the clause was not put in by his consent, but that *Shaftesbury had drawn it and caused it to be inserted.* With this discrepancy of account it is impossible to say whose act it was; probably it might have been a joint one, and the clause put in on purpose to alarm the Duke into a concurrence with their measures.

About this time the Duke of Ormond,* 1677. who had been removed from the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, much to the concern of the Duke of York, by the intrigues of Buckingham, when in high favour with Charles, was now, at the earnest request of the Duke, restored to his appointment, although a secret intrigue was on foot to appoint Monmouth to it.

In the beginning of October, the Prince of Orange arrived in England, in consequence of the King's invitation, the campaign in Flanders having terminated. The object of his journey was to concert a plan of a peace, and to make proposals to the

* James Butler, Duke, Marquis, and Earl of Ormond, was as illustrious for his talents as his rank, and distinguished by virtues superior to both. He accompanied Charles in his exile, and possessed his entire confidence. He had been made Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, after the restoration, but as the zealous friend of Clarendon he shared his disgrace. Buckingham was his enemy, and through him he was deprived of the Lieutenancy, and is even supposed to have carried his hatred of the virtuous Ormond so far, as to have hired assassins to murder him; a deed very nearly accomplished.

1677. Princess Mary. He desired, before he entered into the discussion of public business, to be introduced to the Princess, declaring that he would not make a mere connection of policy, but, as he looked for domestic happiness, he would not marry a woman he could not like. The result of the introduction was his earnest wish to conclude the union, not only from individual feeling, but also, as he alleged, that his confederates would "otherwise believe he made a hard bargain for them, to make a good one for himself. But the King and much more the Duke were of a contrary opinion, thinking it more expedient and decent that the negotiation should rather end, than begin with the marriage." This was mutually discussed, during the few days that passed in the ceremonials of entertainment, before entering into any serious business, till at last, "the obstinacy" of the Prince of Orange prevailed upon the flexible Charles, to have the marriage concluded. Upon obtaining this point, the Prince visited the Duke, and proposed the

union to him, desiring, as he said, "to 1677.
 have the happiness to be yet nearer related
 to him, by marrying the Princess Mary."
 To which the Duke replied, "that he was
 sensible of the esteem the Prince deserved,
 but till they had brought the questions of
 peace and war to a conclusion, he must
 wave the discussion of any other point."
 The Prince urged him, but the Duke re-
 mained firm, and so the visit ended. The
 same evening the Duke informed the King
 of what had passed. Charles replied, it was
 very well, but told him, from the importu-
 nity of the Prince, he had permitted him
 to speak to the Duke upon the subject.
 His Royal Highness expressed his surprise,
 adding, "he could have wished to have
 known that circumstance, because he should
 have been better able to have given the
 Prince a suitable answer," at which the
 King abruptly left him, saying, "he would
 speak further on the subject another time."

The following day the subject was re-
 newed, in the presence of the Lord Trea-

1577. surer Danby; but the affair was not finally resolved till the next day, when the council was informed of the mutual consent of the King and the Duke; the King saying, " he was induced to give his sanction, from the conviction of its propriety to unite the family, and to *prove to his people the care he had of their religion.*" The Duke then declared his consent to the marriage, adding, that he hoped he had, by so doing, given a sufficient testimony of the integrity of his intentions, and his desire to contribute to the public good; and that he thought the people could no more in justice say he designed the alteration or injury of the government in church or state; "and that, whatever his private sentiments of religion might be, all he desired was, that men might not be molested *merely* for conscience sake." It is obvious from the hesitation of the King, in speaking to the Duke respecting this union, that he felt conscious how inconsistent it was to his former professions of zeal, and it seems equally evident that the restlessness of distrust had superseded the

repose of confidence between the brothers, 1677. which they endeavoured to conceal under apologies, excuses, and professions. The marriage being thus formally declared in council, articles were quickly drawn up, and they proceeded to form the plan for peace.* The desire of the Prince was to engage the King immediately in a war against France, in conjunction with the confederated Powers, they, therefore, insisted on terms which the King, as well as himself, very well knew the French Monarch would not accede to. On the other side it was the desire of Charles to make as good terms as possible, without actually engaging in a war, and much time elapsed, and many debates passed, without decision: indeed

* When the Prince got not his answer to his proposal so soon as he expected, he desired Sir William Temple to inform the King, "that they must henceforth live as the greatest friends or the greatest foes. Charles was alarmed at this menace, and resolved, therefore, to yield with a good grace. The union gave universal satisfaction, for the Prince was much esteemed. "By compliments to the good and the brave he procured friends; and as he had no title to give reprehensions, he drew no enemies upon himself—The marriage took place on the 4th Nov. 1677, and on the 21st they embarked for Holland.

1677. the uncertainty of Charles, and the mutual jealousies were so inveterate, that it was hardly possible to determine what were his real intentions. It was, at length, determined that proposals should be sent to Louis, not to be reasoned upon, but a definitive answer given, in *two days*. The marriage of the Princess had greatly surprised Louis, he could not but suspect something, from a step so important having been taken without his knowledge or participation. The imperious message now sent, increased his surprise, but he dissembled and told Lord Feversham, the bearer of it, "that the King of England well knew that he might always command a peace;" but he replied to the articles only in general terms, saying, "he would empower his Ambassador to finish the treaty so as to satisfy the King of England." Charles was lulled into repose by this gentle answer, the Prince of Orange had left England, who alone could have kept up the spirit of the negotiation, and the affair went on with indifference and procrastination. The States observing this,

thought it their wisest course no longer to 1677.
 depend upon the English negotiation, but
 to settle a separate treaty with France, leav-
 ing it open for the other powers to unite
 at a specified time. Accordingly a peace
 between France and the States was con-
 cluded at Nimeguen. The knowledge of
 this led the Prince of Orange into a very
 dishonorable and treacherous act, unworthy
 of him, and affording a strong proof of the
 powerful influence of resentment and am-
 bition to absorb in their vortex the nobler
 feelings of forgiveness and moderation.
 He attacked the Marshal de Luxembourg
 near Mons, taking him by surprise, after
 he knew the articles of peace were signed
 between France and Holland, and it is even
 said that he had the articles in his pocket be-
 fore the action began. Four or five thousand
 men were thus wantonly sacrificed to the
 indulgence of passion in an individual.

The King and his Parliament were still
 contending; they voted that no money
 should be supplied till the King gave them

1677, satisfaction in regard to religion ; they exhorted him to remove his evil Counsellors, who had advised him to give such unsatisfactory answers to their former addresses, and particularly blamed the Earl of Lauderdale. The King resorted to his usual alternative of proroguing them, and when they again met he desired supplies for the forces he had raised against France. They passed a general vote to assist him, provided he proceeded in the war against France, otherwise they would provide for disbanding the army ; for such had been the ardour of the people for a French war, that an army of upwards of twenty thousand men had been raised in a few weeks. Three thousand men were sent over to secure Ostend, under the command of the Duke of Monmouth, and some regiments were recalled from the French service.

The Emperor and the King of Spain not having yet accepted the peace, the King proposed to his Parliament to keep up the army for the preservation of Flanders :

they had voted a supply of two hundred thousand pounds for disbanding it, and the same sum for the expenses of the fleet, but they refused his proposal, being, as it would appear, more jealous of his power, than that of France, and again voted for the immediate disbanding of the army.

About this time the Duke of York had intimation that the Duke of Monmouth held many private meetings with the Lord Russel, Mr. Montague, Sir Henry Capel, &c. in which it was proposed to remove the Duke from the court, and to deprive the Lord Treasurer of his situation. The latter, to shelter himself from the threatening storm, persuaded the King to put the laws in execution against the Catholics, and advised him to send the Duke out of England.

It is painful thus to observe the unworthy arts and selfish plans of individuals who have the interests of a great nation in their keeping, and it is but justice to remark how different was the conduct of the Duke, in these

1677. trying times, for honour, integrity, and candour. For a little time before the meeting of Parliament, the Lord Russel, and several other considerable men of the party, intimated to his Royal Highness, that if he would trust them, and unite with them in what they should propose for the public good, and that of the King, they would engage to remove the incapacity under which he lay of exercising any public function, and that they would do every thing further for his satisfaction, if he would concur with them in prosecuting the Lord Treasurer, and removing him from his employment.

To this extraordinary offer, the Duke replied, " he would most willingly unite with them in any thing for the public benefit and the honour of the King, but to prosecute his Minister without his consent, unless proved to have been guilty of any misdemeanor, would, he thought, be so utterly inconsistent with the honour of the King, and the good of the nation, that he could not join in such a measure." This unsettled and incon-

sistent temper of the popular party, at one 1677. time persecuting, at another courting the aid and conciliating the good will of the Duke; at one time uniting against him, at another soliciting his co-operation in attacking others, must have quickly opened the eyes of men to their restless designs, had not the malignity and wickedness of a wretched individual given them a pretext for executing their intrigues to deprive the Duke of his claim to the succession, and not only of effecting his ruin, but also endangering and shaking the Government itself. We allude to what is called the popish plot, formed to bury the Duke, and perhaps the King, under the dread and horror of popery. It would far exceed the limits of this work to enter into the detail of the mysteries, the absurdities, and the horrors of this plot, which involved the safety and the lives of so many individuals. It must suffice to say, that it included the assassination of the King, and his brother, an invasion, a conflagration, and a massacre of the Protestants: and it was calculated, in its leading features,

1677. to attract the attention of the higher ranks, and by the minuteness and familiarity of its lesser details, equally to meet the understanding, and catch the credulity of the lower orders.

By making the Duke one of the victims, it cunningly prevented the suspicion of its being directed against him; letters were indeed produced, which implicated the Duke, and which gave reason to suspect there was a scheme in agitation to bring about the conversion of the nation to the Catholic faith; and we are justified in supposing, after *the secret treaty* before alluded to, that such a zealous Papist, as the Duke, still entertained hopes of eradicating heresy; nor is it improbable, that secret communications with the friends of Catholicism in France, were carried on to avail themselves of any favourable turn of affairs to accomplish their object, and such a secret understanding gave too great a colour to the falsehoods of the plot. It appears, upon an attentive perusal of the details of

this plot, that it was probably the invention 1677.
of a few evil-minded and sordid persons,
with the view of profiting by the credulity
of the people, on a subject which had so
long inflamed their imagination; and that
more artful and designing men made use of
the popular ferment it created, to effect
their own objects. The Duke's correspon-
dence with France pretended to disclose
intrigues against the religion and interests
of his country. That of the Lord Treasurer
to the same court, betrayed the loans of
money to Charles, thus making him a
sharer in his brother's disgrace. And the
whole tale was fixed upon the imagination
and fears of the people by the secret mur-
der of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, who, in his
office of magistrate, had received the depo-
sition of the infamous Titus Oates, causing
every Protestant to believe the dagger was
secretly aimed at his own breast. The
whole was covered by a veil of mystery
which added to its impression on the public,
for whatever improbabilities or inconsis-
tencies were observed, were considered

1077. only to be so because the plot was not yet unravelled. Thus between artful intrigue and villainy, and ignorance and credulity, the minds of the people were exasperated, and their passions kept on fire, till they were ripe for any purpose in which insidious plotters chose to employ them.*

On the 21st of October the Parliament met, and the King informed them that he had been obliged to keep his forces up

* Titus Oates was one of the most infamous villains whom history is obliged to record. He was born an anabaptist, received a tolerable education, and took orders, residing on a small vicarage in Kent; but being guilty of many irregularities, he was silenced by the Bishop, and deprived of his qualification as Chaplain, by the Duke of Norfolk. He then became a Papist, either for bread, or as he boasted, to gain admission to the College of Jesuits, to obtain their secrets. He continued to reside with them, at St. Omer's, some time, but, at length, heartily tired with the conduct of their convert, they dismissed him, and, being furnished with the names and leading events of the Catholics in England, he succeeded in his infamous plot against the repose of his country. This infamous wretch charged the Earl of Powis, Earl of Stafford, Lord Arundel, Lord Petre, Sir John Bellasis, and Sir Henry Titchburn, with the plot; they surrendered themselves and were committed to the Tower. He also had the audacity to implicate the Queen.

with the money which they had voted to dis- 1677.
band them. He also acquainted them with the
plot discovered against him, adding, "that
he should leave it to be examined in the
legal way," thus entering into the prose-
cution of what he believed to be a fiction.
Information was thus no sooner given of
the intended plot, than it was converted to
the use it was probably intended to effect,
viz. that of a plea for excluding the Duke of
York from the succession, and perhaps no
political engine was ever more ably or
effectually managed. Shaftesbury and his
party had long before prepared the nation
for the exclusion, by circulating pamphlets
throughout every part of the kingdom, point-
ing out the right of Parliament to alter the
succession on account of Popish principles.

When the Parliament met, they agreed
that there was a plot of the Papists to
assassinate the King, and to subvert the
established religion and government, and
a debate arose to exclude the Duke of
York. They also voted that the Duke of

1677. York, being a Papist, added to the hope of his succession to the throne, had given the highest encouragement to the present conspiracies and designs of the Catholics against the King and the Protestant religion. Charles endeavoured to evade the inevitable consequences of this vote, by proposing to the council a set of limitations which would deprive his successor, if a Catholic, of the chief privileges of royalty; but Shaftesbury argued that this plan would be quite ineffectual, urging, that when the future King should find a Parliament to his mind, the limitations could be taken off, as well as imposed; and it is well known that when the bill was subsequently brought in for the total exclusion of the Duke, Shaftesbury favoured it with all his power, causing such an irreconcilable animosity between them, that the Earl could only look for safety in the ruin of the man whose dearest interests he endeavoured to destroy. The King assured his Parliament he was ready to pass any bill to make them safe and easy in regard to his successor, so

that it did not tend to impeach "the right 1677.
of succession, or the descent of the crown
in the true line, or to restrain his own or
the just rights of any Protestant successor."
He also, on the 30th of November, passed
a bill for disabling Papists to sit in either
house, but rejected a bill relating to the
militia which he apprehended would place
that force out of his power.* The first
attempt to connect the popish plot with the
exclusion of the Duke was in the motion
of Lord Russel for a resolution of the
house, "That the opinion which the
Papists have of the Duke's religion, is the
cause of the plot."

The torrent now bore violently against
the Duke, and Charles began to fear he

* The Commons, during this sitting, impeached the noblemen
in the Tower, but did not exhibit articles of high treason against
them. They also impeached the Lord Treasurer Danby, for
endeavouring to subvert the constitution, and to introduce an
arbitrary government, together with several other charges; for
his credit with the King, and his supposed intrigues with the
French court, had rendered him very obnoxious to the popular
leaders.

1677. should have no power to prevent his being overwhelmed with it. Irritated at the violence and intractability of his Parliament, which had been so loyal to him, he rashly dissolved it, after it had sat sixteen years, thus obliging the people to a new election, at a time when their passions were inflamed, and the voice of sober reason could be no more heard than a whisper in a storm. It was scarcely done but Charles was sensible of his error; he saw the dangers which surrounded him, he had suffered the tempest to arise, unmindful of its violence. He saw the peril to which he was now exposed, he was roused from his apathy, and led to exert his native vigour of mind. As the first step to appease the tempest, he determined upon the present removal of the Duke; and first urged him, through the medium of two bishops, and his friends, to give way to the storm, and retire, but the Duke refused, unless he had a particular order from the King, lest he should be supposed to have fled through fear, or a consciousness of guilt. The King sent him this order, in

the most plain and affectionate terms, and 1677.
 the Duke obeyed with reluctance. He requested permission to take his daughter, the Princess Anne with him, but was refused. He desired a declaration from the King that he never had been married to Monmouth's mother, which was granted. It is stated that the separation of the brothers was affecting. Burnet says "the Duke wept much, but the King did not seem affected." His Royal Highness retired to Brussels, where he remained till the period of the King's illness, to be mentioned hereafter.

The King had been induced to press the Duke's departure by the advice of the Lord Treasurer, who judiciously urged that the measure would do much to remove the suspicions of the King's being governed by Popish counsels, but, perhaps, he was more particularly persuaded by his favourite, the Duchess of Portsmouth, whom Shaftesbury had flattered with the hopes of a Parliamentary settlement of the crown upon her son, the Duke of Richmond. But

1677. without adverting to the influence of his minister, and his mistress, the King had ample reason for desiring, at least, the temporary absence of the Duke of York; for the animosities between him and Monmouth daily became more bitter, and, in their consequences, most annoying to himself. When, for instance, the Parliament saw the King espouse the cause of the Duke, they so far receded (as has been related) as to exempt him from the penalty of the proviso, the debate was violent upon the question, and it was observed, that Monmouth quitted the house before it was concluded. The Duke complained of this to the King, telling him "he feared not so much his open as his hidden enemies, especially one who had so great an interest with his Majesty; that he had a long time suspected the Duke of Monmouth's friendship, and saw plainly his views; had remarked his eagerness for popularity, his insolent pretensions, his intimacy with dangerous men, and his daring ambition." His complaint was in the aggregate too well grounded.

for the King to venture to contradict, or to be displeased at the frankness of the Duke in making it. Another circumstance had also greatly irritated the Duke, and convinced him of Monmouth's towering hopes, and how little scrupulous he was respecting the means of realizing them. Upon the death of Lord Albemarle, the King, at the request of the Duke of York, had abolished the office of Lord General of the army as unnecessary, and as too high for a subject; at the same time intimating his hope that should occasion render its revival necessary, the King would appoint him to the high and important trust. In the year 1674, Monmouth, by a refined artifice, prevailed upon the King to bestow it upon him; insidiously giving directions that in the form of his commission he should be stiled the *King's son*, artfully omitting the usual accompaniment *natural*. The Duke, who had in vain opposed the preferment itself, received intimation of this dishonorable and subtle expedient, and sent orders for the officer to draw the commission in the usual

1679, and proper form. He was obeyed, but on the commission being delivered to Monmouth's secretary, he, by his master's order, erased the word *natural*. The Duke of York, highly indignant at the attempt, contrived to be present when the commission was presented to the King, and warmly complained of the alteration. The King made no answer when acquainted with this breach of integrity and honour; but taking out his scissors cut the commission in two, and desired one to be prepared with the word *natural* inserted in it.

But to return to the regular occurrence of events. On the 6th of March, 1679, the new Parliament assembled, but the King soon found that all his concessions had not restored him to their confidence; they trod in the same steps as their predecessors, but, if possible, with greater firmness and force, contriving a variety of popular bills, to secure the confidence of the people, and to identify their interests with their own. In vain did the King

acquaint them with what he had done to 1679.
 calm the apprehensions of his people, of
 having banished his brother, excluded the
 popish Lords from Parliament; that he
 had sanctioned the penalties of the law
 upon the murderers of Sir Edmundbury
 Godfrey, that he had disbanded the army;
 as far as his money could reach, and to end
 all colour of being governed by popish
 counsels, he had not only commanded his
 brother to absent himself, but removed
 those they had suspected.* He desired
 supplies suitable to the great exigencies
 of the State, and expressed his hope that this
 would be an healing Parliament: but the
 refractory humour of the Assembly appeared,
 in the first step they took, regardless of the
 usual custom of consulting the inclinations
 of the Sovereign upon the election of their
 speaker, they choose, without reference to
 the King, Edward Seymour, Esq. Charles,
 indignant at this want of respect, refused
 to approve him, and the Commons insisting

* King James's Memoirs.

1679: on their privilege of unbiassed choice: he prorogued them on the 12th to the 15th, on which latter day they elected another gentleman, who was approved by the King. The Commons then reminded the Lords of the impeachment of the Earl of Danby, and desired he might be committed. In consequence of this Danby fled. The Lords replied, "that they had sent to apprehend the Earl, but he was not to be found." A bill was then brought in for his appearance on or before the 21st of April, or he would stand attainted. Rather than incur this severe penalty, Danby appeared, and was immediately committed to the Tower. The King granted him his pardon, but the validity of it, in cases of impeachment, was denied by the Parliament; great debates taking place upon the question. On the 27th of April, they voted that the Duke's religion had encouraged and given rise to the plot, and it was opposed by only one of the Duke's friends; but, though from plausible reasons, they accounted for their silence, the King was firm in resolving not

to abandon his brother. The debates were 1072
protracted and violent; and on May the
15th, the Commons voted to bring in a bill to
disable the Duke of York from inheriting
the Crown of England, and, that if his
Majesty should come to any untimely
death, they would revenge it upon the
Papists. The King was highly displeased
with their votes, though he was obliged to
yield, apparently, to their force.* When
this vote, and the King's behaviour was
made known to the Duke, "his pleasure
was, so great to see the King's kindness,
that he took off all feeling of his own
misfortunes." "I can never," says he,
"sufficiently acknowledge the *sence* of gra-
titude I have for your Majesty's goodness
to me, I do assure you I can bear any
misfortune with patience so long as you are
so kind; I have but one life to *loos*, and

* The Bill was extremely severe, involving banishment as well as exclusion, and passed the lower House by a majority of seventy. Yet, while thus employed in guarding against future evils, this Parliament did not overlook the present securities of the subject, as the Habeas Corpus Act was passed this sitting, 1

1679. rebels, and restored to allegiance men whom he might have fixed to his own interest, at the same time that his mercy insured to him their faithful affection. He returned, elated with triumph, to London, believing it would be easy to win, from the tenderness and gratitude of Charles, all he wished, and to have his uncle excluded for ever. Beloved by the people, General of all the forces, London at the devotion of his master spirit Shaftesbury, his uncle banished, the elation of Monmouth was not surprising, but his hopes and expectations received an unlooked-for and sudden chill.

In the letter of the Duke of York to the King, he had warned him of the consequences of Monmouth's schemes to both of them, and urged the King not to disband his army, but to dissolve his Parliament, and to punish Monmouth: adding, "that the King had no cause to fear the Prince of Orange, who was his firm friend." Charles obeyed the wish of his brother in regard to

his Parliament, which he suddenly dissolved 1679. in May, 1679 ; contriving to get Sunderland, Essex, and Halifax to concur in the measure, which so enraged and disappointed Shaftesbury, that he uttered expressions of revenge against those three noblemen. " The King never spake better nor with greater *energie*, though his speech was extempore, as well as his resolution ; this was so little expected, it struck them like thunder, and all in a gaze, not knowing what way to turn themselves, nor what measures to take.*"

The Duke was naturally elated with the success of his application, and wrote earnestly to be recalled, but Charles refused this, as he was still irresolute respecting Monmouth, whom he could not resolve to mortify, or deprive of his honours. " In this crisis of affairs, while the feelings of the King were divided between his brother and his son, whose recent noble conduct had won his increased affection and confidence ; and while the Duke was upon the rack of

* King James's Memoirs.

1679. suspicion in regard to the influence of his rival, and the machinations of his enemies, an event occurred which decided the conduct of Charles, and strangely reversed the situation of the rival Dukes for his favour and his Crown. The King fell suddenly ill of a fever, at Windsor, which threatened his life, and which proved, in a signal manner, the real affection of his subjects, although a portion of the people had been led away, either by their own ignorance, or delusive theories of others. The three Lords, Sunderland, Essex, and Halifax, feared the intrigues and threats of Shaftesbury, and the state of public feeling, and they agreed that the Duchess of Portsmouth should propose to the King to send for the Duke of York. Charles was pleased at her proposal. The Duke hastened from Brussels, but finding Charles out of danger on his arrival, offered to return. The moment was auspicious to the Duke. The spirits of Charles were weakened by his illness, he was affected at the meeting with his brother, the recollection of the great sufferings they

in youth had shared together, rushed on his mind, and softened his heart. He would not permit the Duke to return, but required only that he should not name the invitation which he had received. 2879.

Upon what almost imperceptible springs do our feelings vibrate! Upon what trifling points do our actions turn! Monmouth was engaged in hunting in the park when the return of the Duke was made known to him. He hastened to the palace, and, in an abrupt and unguarded manner, reproached the King, for having concealed from him the invitation he had given the Duke. Charles was struck with the contrast between the submission of a brother whom (in the then state of his feelings) he believed he had injured by banishment,—and the insolent presumption of a son, upon whom he had accumulated favours, and who had leagued with the enemies of his royal house. In a paroxysm of anger he commanded Monmouth into that banishment from which he recalled the Duke of York. Monmouth

1679. haughtily refused obedience to the mandate, and withdrew from the presence of the enraged King. The following day the two Dukes had an interview; mere civility marked it, but they agreed, in order to prevent discord in the Court and nation, it would be better that both should retire abroad. Monmouth made submission to the King, and left the Court, retiring to Holland, where he was courteously received by the States. In the meanwhile Charles insisted publicly, that the Duke of York should remain in England, but the Duke pleaded his honour pledged to Monmouth, as a reason that he could not comply, a circumstance that greatly increased the respect of Charles for his brother, and, at once, restored to the Duke his former ascendancy over the mind of the King. It was at last privately agreed, that he should return to Brussels for a short time, and from thence petition his brother for permission to reside in Scotland, which would be complied with. Accordingly he departed, and in a few months returned to England, and proceeded

with the Duchess by land to Scotland.* It 1679.
 is delightful to remark, during all the vicissitudes to which the Duke of York was subjected, the firm and devoted attachment of his amiable young Duchess. At this time she was but twenty years of age, and the King solicited her to remain at Court; but she replied, "she rather choose, even at the hazard of her life, to share the hardships and difficulties of her husband, than to enjoy her ease in any part of the world without him."

Our limits now oblige us, with reluctance, to refer our reader for details to the ample pages of history, respecting the many interesting events that marked the latter period of this reign, during which the activity of faction never slumbered, and the

* In many respects the presence of the Duke of York in Scotland was very acceptable to the nobles and gentry, and the Duke was highly esteemed. Among Somers's Tracts there is a letter from a person of quality in Scotland, who professes, that although a zealous Protestant, he had been converted from his opinion in favour of the Exclusion Bill, by the personal knowledge of his very many excellencies and virtues.

1680. animosity against the Duke but little diminished, both drawing into their destructive vortex, the peace, the lives, and the properties of many great and good men. We must, in the same manner, pass over the many severe and arbitrary measures which stained the closing years of the King's power, and only rapidly glance at the public acts immediately affecting the Duke of York, who, after an absence of a few months, was recalled, the King declaring, in council, he found no good effects from his absence.

Nothing material occurred until the meeting of Parliament, June the 16th, when Shaftesbury indicted the Duke for recusancy. The Duke urged his own justification and other important truths to the King, who, dreading the violence of the faction, remanded him to Scotland, October the 20th, 1680. In his parting interview he represented to the King the dangers he exposed himself to, by following the counsel of unsteady, weak, and

treacherous men. The bill of Exclusion 1680, was brought in. The Duke wrote to the King, recalling his attention to the consequences which must ensue, if it were suffered to pass. The King declared in the Commons that he would never pass it. It was, however, passed in that House, and sent to the Lords, by Lord Russel, but rejected by a majority of thirty votes. Lord Halifax proposed the banishment of the Duke for life, and new accusations were brought against him concerning the plot. The Commons presented an address against the plot and prevailing influence of the Papists. After this the Duke's friends renewed their solicitations that he would change his religion. The Duke replied, "he hoped never again to have been urged upon that point; that his faith was not a subject of imagination, or a caprice of his fancy, but the conviction of his judgement; that the origin of his doubts proceeded from a Treatise which a learned Bishop of the Church of England had written, which, with its answer, he had given him to read; that

1680. the object of the work was to clear the Church of England from the guilt of schism by separating from the Church of Rome, but that instead of confirming him in the doctrines of the former, it had quite a contrary effect; that he was established in his present sentiments by the perusal of Dr. Heylin's History of the Reformation, and the preface to Hooker's Ecclesiastical Policy, and further impressed by other reading; that he had reflected deeply upon the consequences of the change upon his temporal prosperity, and had surely given testimony of his sincerity, in having remained firm, amidst the shocks he had received, and he trusted, by the grace of God, should continue so." He was again presented by the grand jury of Westminster for recusancy, and the bill of Limitation, and thirty-four articles of treason were framed against him.

Lord Stafford was, on the 30th of November, brought to his trial before the House of Peers, as a conspirator in the

popish plot, and condemned, after a trial of 1680. five days, the *King remaining neuter.*

At this time the Duke's affairs wore a dark aspect, all the men in power being against him ; every means having been used to remove his friends, and continual disputes between the two Houses occurring respecting privileges and employments. The popular party had required the dismissal of Lord Halifax, and several others ; and, about this time, the infamous Titus Oates declared publicly, that the Duke of York was possessed with a devil, and he would make no scruple to kill him with his own hand.

The King, dreading the violence of the Parliament, dissolved it on the 10th of January, it having voted, that whosoever advised the King against passing the bill of Exclusion, was a betrayer of his Majesty, and the Protestant religion ; a promoter of French interest, and a pensioner of France. The Duke's satisfaction was great when he heard they were dismissed, for he experi-

1690. enced, even at Edinburgh, the influence of the party. The Duke was again urged by his friends to change his religion, the King uniting with them, but he remained firm. He knew, he said, his obligations to God and the King, and he was resolved not to confound them together. "He would leave the event to Him who could bring his own purposes about by means beyond the keenest human foresight to discover, and if Providence granted him not redress for his misfortunes in this world, he was content to wait for his reward, which he was sure would not fail him (if he did his duty) in the next."

It was proposed to the King, that if the Duke survived him he should be regarded as a minor, and be put under the tuition of his own children. The Prince of Orange was not passive in this scheme. The Duke hardly knowing where to place his confidence, at length reposed it in Colonel Churchill, and sent him to the King, to remonstrate against this humiliating plan. The Prince of Orange wrote upon the subject to the

Duke, and his designs became manifest to 1680.
 the Duke's friends. Meanwhile measures
 were employed by the factious to counteract
 all they could do in his favour. Shaftesbury,
 whose boast it was to "ride in the whirl-
 wind and direct the storm," again endea-
 voured to embroil the kingdom, by enticing
 Monmouth to return to England without
 the permission of the King, who greatly
 exasperated at a step so bold, refused to see
 him; and, in order to put a stop at once to
 his ambitious views, made a declaration in
 open council, and ordered it to be published
 in the Gazette, of the illegitimacy of Mon-
 mouth. This declaration was audaciously
 ascribed to the King's fear of his brother,
 and daring pamphlets were published,
 asserting the legitimacy of the Duke, con-
 trary to the public and solemn declaration
 of his father. Monmouth completely
 under the spell of his master spirit, and
 deluded by his own passions, courted popu-
 larity by making ostentatious progresses
 through the kingdom, and declared his
 determination to maintain his pretensions,

1680. in which he was encouraged by the enthusiastic welcome given to him in his splendid journeys.*

The activity of the Duke's enemies to convict him as a Papist was ever watchful, and he narrowly escaped the penalties of recusancy by an attempt to deprive him of the common benefits of the law. The King was offered sixty thousand pounds if he would pass the bill, but he continued firm. The King opened the sessions of Parlia-

* The tutor of Monmouth, a Scotchman, named Ross, was supposed first to have infused into the mind of his pupil his ambitious hopes, by persuading him that the King had been privately married to his mother. He even advised the Bishop of Durham to write a certificate of the marriage, and deposit it in a strong box in his own house. This treacherous advice, the Bishop communicated to the King, who took no notice of it to Monmouth, at the time, believing him innocent of the scheme. Ross, after the death of the Bishop, reported that he had left such a certificate behind him. It was entirely believed by the partisans of Monmouth, and converted to their designs. In answer to the suggestions of Shaftesbury, Charles replied, "he would rather lay down his life than alter the true succession to the throne against both law and conscience." The Earl replied, "let us alone; we will make a law for it." To which the King replied, "if such was the Earl's conscience, it was not his."

North's Examiner.

ment at Oxford, March the 21st, on account 1680.
of being more quiet there than in London.
The expedient by the King then proposed
to allay the fears respecting a successor,
viz. that in case he was a Catholic the ad-
ministration should remain in Protestant
hands, was considered by the Duke as bad,
or worse than the bill of Exclusion, and
great heats and violence prevailing between
both houses, the King appeared unex-
pectedly in his robes in the House of Lords,
summoned the Commons, and directed the
Chancellor to dissolve the Parliament.

The King having acted thus decidedly,
sent an express with the information to the
Duke, who, highly pleased at the vigour of
the measure, desired to be recalled ; to this
request the King would not consent, but
softened his refusal by an affectionate letter.

Fresh obstacles continually arising, and
finding every expedient fail to induce the
King to recall him, the Duke bent his whole
attention to the affairs of Scotland. Among

1060. the many reflections of the Duke upon the letter of the King, and on what was past, he says, " Had I affected popularity, or considered only my own well being in the world, I had not trodden the paths which I now am entangled in."

In conformity to the wishes of many of the chief nobility of Scotland, he wrote to the King that a Parliament might be called there; it was accordingly appointed to meet, July the 28th, and the Duke was made the King's Commissioner. The 2nd of this month, also, Lord Shaftesbury, who endeavoured to keep up the credit of the plot, was committed to the Tower, for high treason, among his papers having been found a plan of a treasonable association for compelling the King to submit to the terms of the faction, and to exclude the Duke of York.*

* Sir R. L'Estrange, who knew Shaftesbury well, gives us the following apt delineation of his character, describing him as one "Who had the cunning to keep the wind always in his back and swim continually with the tide, so that in all changes from the year *fourth* to sixty, he came sailing down before it."

The Prince of Orange, at this time, 1680. earnestly desired to visit the King; the Duke dreaded the political consequences resulting from it, and endeavoured to prevent it by a letter to the King, but without effect, and his fears were justified by the causes of jealousy the Prince inspired, giving the Duke reason to apprehend that, in spite of all his struggles, he should be overwhelmed at last.

The Parliament of Scotland passed an Act, asserting the right of succession, and declaring that no difference of religion, nor Act of Parliament itself, could alter or divert the said rights. The Duke's friends renewed their solicitations for his recall, which was opposed by Lord Halifax. Lord Hyde was sent to Edinburgh, to inform the Duke that unless he would conform and go to church, he must not expect to be recalled to Court. The Duke remained firm on this trying occasion, having not only the persecutions of his enemies, but the reproaches of his friends to endure.

1689. November the 24th, Lord Shaftesbury was acquitted, notwithstanding the strong evidence of his papers, and eight witnesses, by the grand jury refusing to find the bill, which was of course returned *Ignoramus*. Addresses poured in from all quarters, expressive of the horror of the people at the association of Shaftesbury. Every thing seemed to oppose the return of the Duke to Court, but an occurrence brought him back when least expected.

The Duchess of Portsmouth desiring to make him useful in assisting her to obtain a settlement, in the event of the King's death, contrived his recall ; so true is it that the grand wheels upon which the powers of statesmen revolve, are put in motion by the lesser springs of private interest or passion. The Duke repaired to Court, but remained there but a short time, returning to Scotland for the Duchess, she being far advanced in her pregnancy. The vessel in which he was embarked, through the unskillfulness or treachery of the pilot, struck on the Len-

man and Oar, in Yarmouth Roads. She 1700.
sunk, with nearly a hundred persons, the
Duke, with a few attendants only, escaping
the wreck.*

The danger he had incurred did not deter the Duchess from venturing to sea; "dangers and difficulties were now familiar to her, as well as to the Duke, and they were so resigned to Providence, that they never disputed nor delayed any order, out of regard to their own convenience."

Soon after their arrival in England, Shaftesbury sent the Duke an ambiguous message of conciliation. The Duke was guarded in his reply, the purport being, "that he knew him too well to trust him in any thing that related to himself; but if

* Among the passengers was Colonel Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, the intimate friend of the Duke, and who he was very solicitous to save. It is said the poor sinking mariners, when they saw the Duke gain the pinnacle in safety, hailed his escape with joyful acclamations as they went down to the bosom of the deep. Could a greater proof of unfeigned attachment be given?

1683. he would make a becoming submission to the King, and give proof of his sincerity, he would willingly take him by the hand, for if the greatest enemy he had in the world (and he believed the Earl was such) would become a good and loyal subject he could easily overlook all injuries done to himself, and forgive him with all his heart."

The Rye-house conspiracy shortly followed, in which it was resolved to seize the King, and compel him to exclude the Duke from the succession. The Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Essex, Lord Russel, and the celebrated Algernon Sydney, were implicated in this plot. The virtuous Russel, and the brave Sidney, suffered death; Lord Essex committed suicide in the Tower, and Monmouth was pardoned. The Earl of Argyle was convicted of high treason, in Scotland, but escaping out of prison, sentence was passed upon him in his absence.

The Princess Anne, second daughter of the Duke of York, was married to the

Prince of Denmark, July the 28th. Mon- 1688.
mouth relapsing into his factious spirit was
banished the Court, and went to Holland,
having been deprived of all his appointments.

The greatest cordiality now subsisted between the King and the Duke of York, who was indefatigable in his public duties, having been restored to his situations of Lord High Admiral, and Privy Counsellor; notwithstanding the Test Act; and the situation of the King thus appeared more comfortable than it had been since the restoration. His decided declaration respecting the Duke, had, at once, silenced the question, and lulled the fears of the timid respecting a disputed succession. The character of Shaftesbury, and the ambition of Monmouth, had been unfolded; and, in proportion as the horrors and the belief of the popish plot subsided, so did the fears of a Catholic Prince become fainter.

Charles turned, in his difficulties, to the loyal party, which he had overlooked in

1683 his more prosperous days, and found them steady, faithful, and generous; ready and willing to uphold the honour and integrity of the crown. The precipitate and bold measures of the faction which had disturbed his repose, had alike exposed them to the rigours of the law, and to the hatred of the people, who were awakened to the sense of their destructive objects. Yet, with all these favourable circumstances, with all these prospects of tranquillity opening before him, the King was observed to be an altered man; his usual gaiety forsook him, and he became gloomy and morose. He endeavoured to loose reflection in the society of the companions of his voluptuous hours, but it seemed but to add to his dejection, and to render more poignant the pangs which consumed him. What the precise causes of this change of temper were, is uncertain; whether it arose from regret at what was past, the absence of his favourite Monmouth, his pecuniary difficulties, his fear of popular tumult, or the pressing temper of the Duke, is, and must

ever remain unknown ; but it is probable 1684, each had a part, and he might be meditating some change which he hoped would relieve him from the pressure : but whatever were his retrospections, whatever his future designs, the hand of Providence closed the avenues of the one, and arrested the prosecution of the other ; he was seized with an apoplexy, February the 2nd, 1684, partially relieved from its effects by bleeding, but on the fourth day relapsed.

This was a moment of triumph to the Duke of York, as a zealous Catholic, and of grief as an affectionate brother — the conversion and the death of the King. The morning of this Monarch's existence had been passed in a state of carelessness and indifference respecting religion ; the noon of it in stifling or dissembling his convictions and disregarding its forms, and now in its closing evening he sought for its consolations.

A man may live in levity and carelessness, but it is seldom that he can die so ; and those

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1684. who do are not to be envied. A death-bed is a detector of the heart, and the mask of dissimulation is removed from him, who, perhaps, has worn it till he has even deceived his own soul.

Charles affords not a solitary instance of individuals flying for refuge and comfort, to that source which they had neglected to resort for strength, to enable them to resist the allurements of sense, as a basis upon which to found their principles of action; and as the school in which they might discipline the wayward passions of their souls. Being given over by his physicians, two Protestant bishops attended to prepare the King for the awful hour that approached: they began to read, as usual, the office for the visitation of the sick. The Bishop of Bath then asked him if he wished to confess his sins; telling him, at the same time, there was no obligation for him to do so; therefore, if he pleased, he might dispense with it. He then read a short exhortation, and asked the King if he repented of his

sins. The King answered, *he did so* ; his 1684.
 Lordship then pronounced the absolution
 after the manner of the Church of England.
 The Bishop then inquired if he desired to
 receive the sacrament ? To which he made
 no reply, but being pressed by the Bishop
 several times, he answered, *it was time
 enough, or he would think of it.* The
 Duke of York, who continued by his Ma-
 jesty's bedside, seeing, that notwithstanding
 the Bishop's solicitation, he still declined re-
 ceiving the communion from him ; and
 knowing the King's sentiments in matters
 of religion, thought it a fit time to remind
 him of his former professions, and desiring
 those who encircled the bed to withdraw a
 little, addressed the King, in a low voice,
 expressing his joy at seeing him at last so
 apparently resolved to execute what his con-
 science had so often solicited him to do,
 and asked him if he should send for a priest.
 The King eagerly replied, "*for God's sake,
 brother, do, and lose no time ;*" but imme-
 diately adverting to the consequences to the
 Duke, he added, "*But will you not expose*

1684. *yourself too much by doing it ?*" The Duke, who never thought of danger when the King's service called, though but in temporal concerns, much less in an eternal one, answered, "*Sir, though it cost me my life, I will bring one to you,*" and immediately went out for the purpose, and by a particular accident, or a very singular Providence, the first priest he met with, was Father Huddleston, a Benedictine, the same who contributed so much towards saving the King's life, after the battle of Worcester. This monk was conducted up private stairs, into a closet in the King's chamber, and the Duke informed the King, who ordered every one to retire except the Duke; but his Royal Highness thought fit that Lord Bath, then Lord of the Bedchamber, and Lord Feversham, the Captain of his guards, should remain, (both Protestants), that they might witness what passed, and prevent any malignant inferences which his enemies might draw from his being alone with the King in his weak condition,

Father Huddleston, when introduced, 1684. was received with great joy and satisfaction by the King, who told him he desired to die in the faith and communion of the Catholic Church; that he was humbly sorry for the sins of his past life, and particularly for having deferred his conversion so long; that he died in charity with all the world; pardoned his enemies, and begged pardon of all whom he had offended. The Father received his abjuration, and the King proceeded to make a confession of his whole life, with exceeding tenderness of heart, and pronounced an act of contrition, with great piety and compunction. After passing more than an hour in these pious duties, he partook of the sacrament, raising himself upon the bed, saying, "*Let me meet my heavenly Lord in better posture than lying on my bed.*" But being requested not to discompose himself, he repeated the act of contrition, and then received the sacrament with great piety and devotion; after which, Father Huddleston made him a short exhortation, and left him in so much

1684. peace of mind, that he looked approaching death in the face with tranquillity and Christian resolution.

The attendants were now called in, and his Majesty expressed the greatest kindness and tenderness for the Duke; owned, in the most feeling manner, the sense he had of his brotherly affection during the whole course of his life, and particularly in the recent instance of it; commended his great submission, and constant obedience to all his commands, and asked him pardon aloud, for the rigorous treatment he had so long exercised his patience with. Acknowledged that next to God he owed the grace of his reconciliation to the church, to the indefatigable zeal and tender affection of the Duke.

All this he said in so affectionate a manner, as drew tears from all who were present. He spoke most tenderly also to the Queen, and, in fine, left nothing unsaid or undone, that so small a time would allow of, either

to reconcile himself to God, or to make satisfaction to those he had injured upon earth, disposing himself to die with the piety and fortitude of a Christian, and resolution becoming a King; and then his senses beginning to fail him, (which had continued perfect till about an hour before his death), he expired, between eleven and twelve o'clock of February the 6th, 1684.*

His character is thus summed up by his brother, the Duke, &c. His death was universally lamented, as in his life he was generally beloved, for even the malignity of those who most molested his reign sprung more from a hatred of his power and character, than from any aversion to his person. He wanted no qualification that could make a Prince glorious, and a nation happy, though mixed with some disorders and infirmities which *sullied* those shining natural *parts*, which were otherwise the admiration of his *Neibors*, as well as the

* King James's Papers as contained in Clarke's History, and Father Sanders's Memoir.

1. The first of these is the fact that the Government has not yet decided whether it will accept the offer of the United States to purchase the Hawaiian Islands. This is a very important question, and one which has been the subject of much discussion and debate.

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1. The first step in the process of the
 2. is to determine the scope of the
 3. project. This involves identifying the
 4. objectives and the resources available.
 5. The next step is to develop a plan
 6. of action. This plan should outline the
 7. steps to be taken and the timeline for
 8. completion. It should also identify the
 9. responsibilities of the individuals involved.
 10. The third step is to implement the plan.
 11. This involves carrying out the tasks
 12. outlined in the plan. It is important to
 13. monitor progress and make adjustments
 14. as necessary. The final step is to
 15. evaluate the results of the project. This
 16. involves comparing the actual results with
 17. the objectives and determining the
 18. success of the project.

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